Journal of Administration Overseas

VOLUME XV/NUMBER 2/APRIL 1976

Price 80p quarterly net; annual subscription including postage £3.64

INCLUDING

Peoples Committees in Sri Lanka
by W. A. Wiswa Warnapala

Development in the South Pacific
by A. R. Hoyle

The Disaster Unit in ODM
by Susan Unsworth

BOOK REVIEWS
by Geoffrey Smith, Dr. H. W. Singer, Ian Livingstone, Sir Glynn Jones, Dr. J. M. Beattie, Barrie Macdonald, A. D. Cooper, Garth Glentworth

Published for the Ministry of Overseas Development
HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

This *Journal* is edited in the Rural Development Department of the Ministry of Overseas Development. It aims at providing a medium for the exchange of information about administration at all levels, whether in local government or in the organization of central departments. It also covers land tenure. Nothing in the *Journal* should be read as necessarily representing official views or policy unless this is specifically stated. The responsibility for facts and opinions expressed in signed articles rests with the authors.

NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

Articles for publication in the *Journal* from serving officers and others with knowledge and experience in the field covered by the *Journal* are welcome and should be addressed to the Editor, Rural Development Department, Ministry of Overseas Development, Eland House, Stag Place, Victoria, London SW1E 5DH.

Books for review, reports and communications for the Editor should be similarly addressed.

Twenty off-prints are supplied free of charge on request to contributors whose articles are published. Requests for off-prints should be made at the time articles are submitted. Off-prints in excess of twenty are charged for at a rate relative to the length of the article.

Orders and subscriptions should be sent to Her Majesty's Stationery Office P.O. Box 569, London, SE1 9NH.

The Government does not accept responsibility for any of the private or trade advertisements included in this publication

Published by

HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

49 High Holborn, London WC1V 6HB

13a Castle St., Edinburgh EH2 3AR
41 The Hayes, Cardiff CF1 1JW
Brazennose St., Manchester M60 8AS
Southey House, Wine Street, Bristol BS1 2BQ
258 Broad St., Birmingham B1 2HE
80 Chichester St., Belfast BT1 4JY

or through booksellers

Price 80p net, annual subscription including postage, £3.64

© *Crown copyright* 1976

Journal of Administration Overseas

VOLUME XV/Number 2/April 1976

Contents

Editor's Notes 67

Peoples Committees in Sri Lanka 68
by W. A. Wiswa Warnapala

Development in the South Pacific 77
by A. R. Hoyle

The Disaster Unit in O.D.M. 85
by Susan Unsworth

Management Services in Nigeria 92
by Pita N. Ejiofor

Local Government Reforms in Western Nigeria 100
by Adeoye Akinsanya

Quarterly Notes:
- Commonwealth Human Ecology Conference, Auckland 105
- IULA Congress, Tehran 106
- National Lottery, Thailand 107
- Commonwealth Human Rights Conference, Cumberland Lodge 107
- A New Contemporary 108

Book Reviews 109

Book Notes 123

Editor's Notes

FOLLOWING Dr. Leitan's article on the Government Agent in Sri Lanka in our last issue, we now include from the same country, an examination by Dr. Warnapala of the Peoples Committees – newly introduced as an experiment in popular participation in decision taking at local level on the island. While believing in the decentralisation involved, Dr. Warnapala is critical of the absence of the elective principle and of the degree of bureaucratic control imposed. How far these committees will be able to act on their own without dependence upon the Government Agent will be a matter that will be watched with considerable interest.

We have published comparatively little on the development process in the South Pacific, so we welcome the opportunity to publish A. R. Hoyle's overview in which he identifies three distinct types of development being followed in the islands – "planned", "*ad hoc*" and "reluctant". The islands in his view have suffered because development "started too late to allow for the necessarily slow change in values which are the most important element in environmental adaptation". We hope that this introductory paper will be followed by further articles focusing on specific problems and areas in the Pacific.

Susan Unsworth reviews the first year's work of the Disaster Unit in the Ministry of Overseas Development – why it was set up; the problems faced; the difficulty in obtaining speedy information as to urgent requirements; the goals of the UN Disaster Relief Organisation and the Unit's own complementary role. She emphasises the importance of contingency planning which alone can ensure prompt action and that the supply of *appropriate* relief speedily reaches a disaster area.

Pita Ejiofor believes that many popular misconceptions about the role of managers need to be corrected. He believes, too, that the manager is the key figure on the Nigerian development front; as he puts it, "a country's managers are all together managing the nation" and to get this job done properly he emphasises the need for Nigeria to invest heavily in training her managers.

Finally Dr. Akinsanya examines the new system of local government in the Western State of Nigeria. The introduction of the Council-Manager system, the amalgamation of former Councils and the development of area Committees in whose areas at least 40 per cent of revenues collected locally must now be spent, holds out promise of a better and more effective local management of local affairs.

Peoples Committees in Sri Lanka: An Experiment in Popular Participation

By W. A. WISWA WARNAPALA

Dr. Warnapala formerly a lecturer in Political Science at the University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya is now attached to the Sri Lanka Embassy in Moscow.

IN the new emergent states of Asia, the Government services which they inherited at independence, were characterised largely by structures and procedures devised, in the case of anglophone countries, by the British in a colonial situation. On assuming power, the nationalist leaders discovered that they controlled administrative systems which were far removed from the mass of the people. It was therefore felt that the isolation of the bureaucracy from the people needed to be broken[1].

The urgent need to divert the energies of these new states in the direction of national consolidation prevented any speedy introduction of administrative reforms. Very pertinent too was the similarity in the social-orientations of the elite groups which came to wield political power and the members of the bureaucracy. In the case of Sri Lanka, this alliance between the political leadership and the elite corps in the administrative services remained undisturbed in the first decade after independence. Disturbance came, however, in due course, and it is in this context that the establishment of Peoples Committees will be examined in this article.

Background

The Election Manifesto, which the United Front placed before the electorate in May, 1970, stated that they proposed the establishment of three sets of new organisations – Peoples Committees, Workers' Councils and Advisory Committees[2]. The purpose in establishing these committees and councils was to make the administration more responsive to the needs of the country and the wishes of the people. These new organisations were intended to stimulate the people to get themselves associated with the 'work of formulating and implementing national plans[3]'. It was expected that the establishment of such bodies would transform the colonial-orientated administration, make it more democratic and link it more closely with the mass of the people. The demand for this reform had come largely from the more radical political parties. It was with the background of this agitation for reform that the United National Party took its stance.

[1]Senanayake, D.S. 'Qualities Required of Public Servants', in *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. V, July 1955-April 1956, p. 107.
[2]*Manifesto of the United Front*. Colombo, 1970, p. 6.
[3]Ministry of Public Administration. *Proposals for the Establishment of Peoples Committees*, August, 1970, p. 3.

During the election campaign there was much public debate and the political argument centred round the question whether Peoples Committees represented an aspect of democracy or of totalitarianism. Although the United National Party had, when in power, set up similar committees in Colombo in order to control soaring prices of consumer articles, its leader, the late Mr. Dudley Senanayake vigorously opposed the new proposals. For the United Front Mrs. Bandaranaike pointed to the Conciliation Boards set up in 1956 as an example of the association of the people with the administrative machinery. The Sri Lanka press took a lively part in the debate.

Aims and Purposes

Following United Front success in the 1970 elections, Mrs. Bandaronaike was able to proceed with her plans for setting up the new committees. However, before an attempt is made to discuss the blueprint for the proposed Peoples Committees, it is necessary to examine their aims and purposes. Mrs. Sirimayo Bandaranaike, in defending the proposal, said that it had the following as its objects: (a) to co-operate with the Government to ensure the availability and the efficient distribution to the public of consumer commodities of good quality at reasonable prices; (b) to prevent the exploitation of the public by traders; (c) to act as liaison between the public and Government; (d) to combat corruption, malpractices, indiscipline and anti-national activities at all levels; (e) to suggest to Government any other measures to promote the general welfare and progress of the people[4]. Such aims found support both in argument and discussion. Some said that 'the only people who will stand to lose if these institutions are established will be the black-marketeers, smugglers, racketeers and corrupt and inefficient Government servants and dictatorial Government officials'[5]. Another aim was to bring about a reduction in the high prices of consumer articles. The most vital aim, however, was to convert them to an effective safeguard against red tape and corruption in the administration.

The need now is to discuss the principles and functions embodied in the Government's White Paper on Peoples Committees. 'The principal purposes of each Peoples Committee', the White Paper stated, 'should be vigilance in respect of all matters, whether Governmental or otherwise within its area of authority; to ensure that wastefulness, neglect of duty, irregular distribution of essential commodities, misuse of public funds, bribery and corruption, anti-national activities like smuggling and illicit immigration are checked and brought to the notice of the appropriate authorities for necessary and effective action[6]. The functions relating to these aims were to be exercised purely on the basis of advice and supervision, and they were not expected to exercise executive, legislative or judicial authority.

While some of these powers are related to the improvement of efficiency in the management of public affairs, there are others 'innovative' in character. For instance, the Peoples Committees were expected to 'agitate

[4] Vide *Sun*, May 3, 1970.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *The White Paper*, p. 5.

for and draw attention to urgent local needs and remedial measures where necessary on the part of Governmental and local authorities[7]'. In the performance of this task, they were expected to operate in close consultation with such institutions as Co-operative Societies, Cultivation Committees, Rural Development Societies and Community Centres. In addition to their administrative tasks, these committees were expected to give leadership to a number of social service-oriented tasks. The socially desirable objective, which they were to be called upon to promote, were the maintenance of peace and harmony in the village, eradication of anti-social activities, provision of assistance to villagers in making representations on public grievances to the Government, and the promotion of cultural, recreational and welfare activities in the area[8]. It is in this context that one needs to question the role of existing local organisations such as Rural Development Societies, Co-operative Societies, Community Centres, Kantha Samitis and Mahila Societies (Women Societies). The functions of local organisations are not very different from those of the Peoples Committees, which factor gives currency to the view that the establishment of such Committees results in the duplication of rural institutions.

The discussion in the recent past had been to rationalise the island's local organisations structure, which is characterised by a great multiplicity of societies and associations. The multiplication of these village bodies was a direct consequence of the expansion of Government departments. Though little rationality entered into their establishment and widespread expansion, they were both social welfare-oriented and development-oriented[9]. These local organisations, which specialised in social welfare, need to be rationally organised if the Peoples Committees are to be entrusted with the expected role. The dysfunctional character in the whole structure of local organisations can only be eliminated by a rational reconstruction of organisations at this level. This aspect, however, has not been given much thought in the proposal for the establishment of Peoples Committees.

Though the 'aims and functions of Peoples Committees' as embodied in the White Paper are largely consonant with the powers and functions of the existing Rural Development Societies and the like, their powers relating to administration represent an innovation. According to the White Paper, they were to be vested with power to:

(a) make inquiries and receive written replies from any Government department, Public Corporation, Local Authority, regarding any matters which, in the opinion of the Peoples Committees, falls within its aims and functions;

(b) examine any documents kept in the custody of the bodies mentioned above;

(c) request such bodies to forward to the Committee certified copies of contracts on which work or payments have not been completed;

---

[7] *Ibid*, p. 5.
[8] See Sunatilleke, Godfrey. 'The Role of Local Organisations in the Rural Areas' in *Community* No. 7, 1964.
[9] *Ibid.*

(d) enter any wholesale or retail trading establishment dealing in essential commodities, and examine or inspect any documents;

(e) report any public officer to his immediate superior for any act of misconduct or neglect of duty;

(f) report any matter of public importance to the most senior officer of the area in charge of that particular matter;

(g) report any matter direct to the Minister in charge of the subject concerned;

(h) make inquiries or investigations on its own volition on complaints made by a person residing within its area of authority;

(i) make representations to the Minister in charge of the subject on any matter of national importance;

(j) institute criminal proceedings when necessary under Section 148(1)b of the Criminal Procedure Code[10].

Further important powers were to include (a) the right to examine and obtain copies of all non-confidential documents (classified material being excluded from this 'right to see'), (b) the right to enter any public building or office for the purposes of examination or scrutiny (entry may be refused on reasonable grounds only), (c) the power to make complaints against public officers and to be present at any inquiry instituted against such an officer.

The proposals of the White Paper were put into effect by the Peoples Committees Act of 1971[11], and the Committees were thereby empowered to intervene in the affairs of government departments and other organisations in receipt of government funds.

A variety of reasons guided the introduction of such wide powers for a novel structure of this nature. The foremost among them was the need to democratise the administrative structure, and thereby to make it more responsive to the demands of the people. The need to link the administration with the people was repeatedly advocated as one way of reorienting an administration based on the colonial tradition. The establishment of this link between the administrator and his clientele and the injection of an element of popular participation in administration could be achieved on the basis of powers relating to 'vigilance' and 'ombudsman activity[12]'. The irregularities in the distribution, sale or purchase of consumer articles; anti-social, illegal and immoral activities such as smuggling and illicit immigration and the like were deemed to call for Vigilance Committees at village level. The policy on implementing, could now be effectively enforced with the assistance of the Committees. The granting of powers to intervene in administrative matters is certain to make the Committees an effective channel for popular grievances. The powers relating to this aspect are largely social service in character, and their proper channelling depends on the nature of the liaison between the committees and the administrative organisation. The role in development

[10] *White Paper*, p. 6-7.
[11] *Act No.* 16, of 1971.
[12] Wanasinghe, H.S. 'New Perspectives in Management', in *Marga*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1971, p. 68.

too, has been recognised. For instance, the Committees are entitled under the Act to suggest schemes for economic development; the purpose has been to associate the people with the formulation and implementation of economic plans, and thereby to widen the base of popular participation. Of all the functions entrusted to them, their 'ombudsman activity' role is certain to be popular with the Committee members because this will provide them with the means to interfere in matters of administration, and it will doubtless stimulate the desire to do so.

The effective operation of these Committees as organs of popular participation in administration depends to a large extent on the nature of their composition. Under Section 3 of the Act, each committee is to consist of eleven members appointed by the Minister. Residents in the 'area of authority' may send in their nominations, and the Minister makes his selection in consultation with the Members of Parliament. Since the area of authority is the ward of a local authority, the member representing the particular ward is an *ex-officio* member of the Committee.

In an effort to enlist the support of youth, it is laid down that three members must be in the 18-25 age group. The White Paper, in fact, stated that this was to 'ensure both educational talent as well as the necessary dynamism in the working of the Committees[13]', and, in the first year of operation, the Committees were constituted on this basis[14]. A residential qualification became the basis of membership and the elective principle was not adopted in the selection of the members. The reason attributed in support of this was the non-legislative and non-executive character of the powers given to the Committees.

The effectiveness of these committees depended on the nature of their involvement in public affairs. Though the powers granted to them created new areas of influence for them, certain incentives were necessary to inject enthusiasm into the membership. The White Paper, for instance, accepted the position that a 'recognised status' needs to be given along with the provision of basic facilities[15]. It was therefore proposed that each Chairman and Secretary should be made a Justice of Peace, and provided with such facilities as free bus travel, official telephone calls, Government stationery, etc.; these were substantial concessions when compared with the resources of the island's administration.

The role of the Minister[16] in regard to the establishment of Peoples Committees needs evaluation and discussion. The Minister enjoys absolute power in the appointment of members and of Committee Chairmen (the secretary is elected by each Committee at its inaugural meeting); he can re-appoint members when their terms expire, he can remove members from office (should they transgress under the Act). He is therefore very strongly placed to control and guide the proceedings of the Committees. The status

[13] *White Paper*, p. 4.
[14] Administration Report of the Commissioner of Peoples Committees for 1971, Colombo, 1973, p. 26.
[15] *White Paper*, p. 8.
[16] The Minister of Public Administration, Local Government and Home Affairs.

of members of Parliament both as *ex-officio* Committee members and as consultants to the Minister in making appointments, further strengthens the latter's position *vis-a-vis* the Committees.

The Department for the Administration of Peoples Committees, established in March, 1971, with a Commissioner as its head, is the instrument through which the Minister exercises his control over the Committees. The White Paper suggested the present Department of Rural Development as the most appropriate organisation to take charge of the administration of the committees[17]. Though this suggestion has not been adopted, a separate department called the Department of Peoples Committees was established under the Ministry of Public Administration, Local Government and Home Affairs. The establishment of this department over the structure of committees is an attempt to impose bureaucratic control. The Department will surely endeavour to impose its ideas and proposals on these committees and this form of direction and control by departmental officialdom may well destroy the element of popular participation that is inherent in the committee structure.

In the name of co-ordination, another attempt has been made to strengthen the role of the Minister *vis-a-vis* the Peoples Committees. It is suggested that a District Conference of Chairmen of Peoples Committees within each district should be held annually to discuss and evaluate the performance of the Committees. It is from this District Conference that the representatives are chosen to take part at the All Island Congress of Peoples Committees. This Congress, consisting primarily of Chairmen, which is expected to meet at least four times a year, will meet the Minister and the Departmental officials to advise on the progress and working of committees. This Congress will provide the Minister with the opportunity to make declarations of policy affecting the work of the Committees and of establishing liaison between his Ministry and the Committees, thereby facilitating the operation of Peoples Committees in accordance with ministerial wishes.

This suggestion for a quarterly Congress of Peoples Committee Chairmen has been criticised. One significant view is that such meetings will inculcate in the minds of participants that all initiatives by the Committees, not withstanding their legal status, must depend on directives from the Minister and his officials, and the feeling is that this will tend to result in the Committees toeing the Minister's line[18] rather than expressing their own independent views, and so becoming pressure groups *of* the Ministry instead of pressure groups *on* the Ministry. In support of this contention, there are critics who quote the examples of the All Ceylon Village Committee Chairmen Conference, which had been used by a previous Minister as a powerful pressure group. The Conference of Village Headmen, which the Home Ministry organised when the latter was under Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, the former Governor General of Sri Lanka, is another example of a similar exercise. On the basis of this argument the proposed conferences would

[17] *White Paper*, p. 9.
[18] Vide *Nation*, 12th October, 1970.

provide a potential ministerial buffer which could thwart proposals emanating from the Committees themselves.

On the basis of this discussion on the nature of the proposed structure of Peoples Committees, it is possible to enumerate certain basic defects embodied in the proposals.

(1) *Absence of the elective principle*

This has been justified on the ground that the Committees are not to be vested with either legislative or executive power. It means, however, that the Committees are more likely to become appendages of the existing administration apparatus, than bodies exercising their own initiatives.

(2) *Area of Authority*

No new demarcation of areas of authority for Peoples Committees was undertaken. The existing demarcation lines relating to the whole island were studied and the smallest area of authority was adopted. The wards in local authorities, now accepted as areas of authority, do not constitute an administrative unit; though factors such as geographical extent and population determined the choice of the area of authority, its role primarily as an electoral unit was not considered. The Minister justified its adoption by stating that it was 'the most practical unit to constitute an area of authority'[19]. Since these Committees are expected to get themselves associated with the administration, it is necessary that the area of authority should have some relationship to the administrative units of Government.

(3) *Proliferation of Organisations at the Village Level*

The expansion of social and economic activities in the past three decades has resulted in the establishment of a multiplicity of rural organisations. Duplication and overlapping nature of functions are the characteristics of these rural organisations. With the establishment of the Peoples Committees, the necessity arises to reduce the number of existing rural institutions and societies with a view to producing a powerful village unit with sufficient powers and control over administration of affairs at village level.

(4) *Bureaucratic Control over the Committees*

Through the Minister and his Department, the bureaucracy is certain to wield power. The delegation of authority to a department in the matter of running the committees will make them subservient to its directives and orders. Such bureaucratic control is certain to minimise their direct participation in administration. The result may be, as some critics suggest, that their powers will prove to be primarily those of "Vigilance Committees".

First Year of Operation

The original plan was to set up Committees throughout the island, and this in effect, would have meant the establishment of nearly 8,000 com-

[19] *White Paper*, p. 3.

mittees[20]. The disturbances in April, 1971 delayed their establishment and posed the question whether it was correct to create an island-wide framework consisting of such committees. The Government decided in favour of a trial scheme limiting the establishment of Peoples Committees to one local authority area in each Parliamentary constituency and to set up committees according to the number of wards in that local body[21]. Section 2(3) of the Peoples Committees Act helped to facilitate the trial scheme, and the Members of Parliament were given the opportunity to select the local government area in their constituencies. In addition, MP's were asked to submit 15 names for the Minister's consideration for appointment to each committee in their respective local government areas. In fact, he could name the person whom he wished to have appointed as the Chairman. In respect of the constituencies represented by members of the Opposition, a reasonable balance was drawn between the nominees of the elected member of Parliament and the defeated candidate of the United Front. This form was devised to avoid rivalry, tension and disruption, and perhaps the 1971 political climate anticipated such tendencies. The criticism has been made that Members of Parliament were given the opportunity to select their own supporters, so that the committees were in danger of being concerted into appendages of politicians. Eventually, however, nearly 1,730 Committees were established with effect from 1st December, 1971, and they were to be effective for a minimum period of one year. The extension of life of these Committees was to be entirely at the discretion of the Government.

In all some 1,783 Peoples Committees were established embracing local government areas on the following basis:[22]

Municipal Council Areas	169	Committees
Urban Council Areas	94	"
Town Council Areas	213	"
Village Committee Areas	1,307	"
	1,783	

Although there are 634 local government institutions (12 Municipal Councils, 34 Urban Councils, 78 Town Councils and 510 Village Committees) in Sri Lanka, the trial scheme covered only 139 of them. This, in effect, meant that more than 500 local authorities were excluded from the trial scheme, and it is therefore, difficult to assess the impact of the scheme on the existing system of local government.

---

[20]Report of the Commissioner of Peoples Committees, p. 21.

[21]Section 1 of the *Peoples Committees Act No. 16 of 1971*, stated that "each ward of a local authority shall constitute an area of authority of a Peoples Committee", and according to Section 3(2) of the Act, the member representing the ward of the particular local authority was made an *ex-officio* member of the Peoples Committee. Section 12(4) specifically stated that Peoples Committees are expected to promote liaison between local authorities and the people of the area of authority. All this, in fact, meant that the local body, in addition to its elected representative, was expected to recognise the presence of a caucus in its own area. This was certain to keep both the local authority and its members on the alert in regard to matters affecting the people.

[22]Administrative Report of the Commissioner of Peoples Committees for 1971, pp. 22-25.

Since Independence, several attempts have been made to inject an element of popular participation into the working of Sri Lanka's administrative apparatus. They were partial solutions to the larger problems of a colonial-orientated administration. Certain changes were made in the personnel system, but its centralised nature was not disturbed. Both the rulers and the planners who aimed at planned economic growth took for granted the adequacy of the existing administrative structure[23]. Reformers, including the new experts in planning, now see decentralisation as the first step in any sensible scheme of administrative reform and economic planning, and the establishment of Peoples Committees is intended, in this way, to involve people in the decision-making process of decentralised public affairs and decentralised economic planning.

[23]Pieris Ralph "Towards Comprehensive Planning" in *Marga*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1971, p. 11.

Development in the South Pacific: Success and Failure

By A. R. HOYLE

Mr. Hoyle is a senior lecturer in Administration at the Canberra College of Advanced Education, Australia.

THE South Pacific is a vast and geographically ill-defined area but in this article it is taken as referring to the area of the Pacific Ocean containing the independent states of Fiji, Tonga, Nauru and Western Samoa; the Trust Territory of Papua New Guinea; the British colonial territories of the British Solomon Islands and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands; the French colonial territories of French Melanesia and French Polynesia; the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides and the Territory of American Samoa.

In terms of area, all these states and territories together comprise only some 213,000 sq. miles and the population of just over four million represents only 0.1 per cent of the world's people, but in microcosm, they illustrate many of the problems of development. The methods and results of the widely varying approaches used in development in Oceania may be of interest to much larger polities beyond the region.

The Historical Background

The islands of the South Pacific can be divided by a line running north-south just to the east of the main islands of Fiji, Viti Levu. The islands to the east comprise Polynesia and are inhabited by a people, probably of Malay origin, who have a long history of politics of some size . . . built on a strong foundation of ascriptive leadership. To the west of the line is Melanesia with much bigger islands inhabited by a black race of uncertain origin, living in a large number of small communities without any tradition of ascriptive leadership.

At the time of the first important European penetration of this part of the globe, in the last decades of the 18th century, these small island states and communities were in a chronic state of warfare and political, social and economic development was very slow. From the early years of the 19th century, after the colonisation of Australia and New Zealand, this situation began to change rapidly, mainly under the impact of missionary endeavour and the demand for plantation labour. In the early years of the century the European powers displayed little enthusiasm for acquiring the islands but from 1860 onwards, under pressure from the missionaries and the Australian colonists and the need to "seek a place in the sun" all the islands, with the exception of Tonga, passed into the possession of Britain, France, Germany and the United States. This political division endured until 1919 when the

German territory of New Guinea passed to Australia, Western Samoa to New Zealand and the small, but important, phosphate island of Nauru to Britain, Australia and New Zealand conjointly.

The decolonisation process is still going on but over the past twelve years Western Samoa, Nauru and Fiji have joined Tonga as independent states while Papua New Guinea will be independent in the very near future and the British Solomons and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands are undergoing rapid political development. Even the politically backward New Hebrides has made a significant step forward with the promise of a Representative Assembly before the end of 1975[1].

The Development Process

There have been many attempts at defining development but for the purposes of this article it will be defined as:

> The process by which the political, economic and social sub-systems of a polity are adapted to environmental change while maintaining a state of dynamic homeostasis*.

It will be viewed in terms of the open socio-technical systems model. While the political, economic and social sub-systems are dealt with separately it is to be understood that all three are close-coupled and that to understand one involves a study of the others and of the environment in which they all exist.

The Goals of Development

(a) Political Goals

If the territory of American Samoa is ignored there is a simple dichotomy between the political goals of the Anglophone countries and France. Britain, Australia and New Zealand have all sought to bring their colonial and trust territories to full independence as soon as possible, even where, as in Papua New Guinea, there has been a substantial demand to maintain dependent status. France, on the other hand, has endeavoured to prevent or delay independence as long as possible.

Since independence, Western Samoa, Fiji and Nauru have all sought to develop and maintain parliamentary style democracies on the Westminster model with some modifications to suit their differing backgrounds and social systems. In Papua New Guinea and the British Solomons it is likely that similar systems will be introduced.

(b) Economic Goals

The dichotomy of goals is again seen in the determination of economic goals but the situation is complicated by a third discrete approach, exemplified by Western Samoa. In the Anglophone countries, strenuous efforts have been made to attain a high degree of self-sufficiency even where,

---

[1]Press statement issued at conclusion of Anglo/French Ministerial Talks on the New Hebrides November, 1974.

**Dynamic homeostatus in social organizations can be described (vide Kast and Rosenzweig) as a state of continual adjustment to environmental and internal forces.* (Ed.)

as in Papua New Guinea and Fiji, the main demand has been for social development. In the Francophone territories, by contrast, the main goal has been the strengthening of the metropolitan economy and relieving the burden on the French taxpayer. In Western Samoa the state of the economy has in recent times, forced some attention to be given to economic development but, in general, since independence economic goals have been limited to maintaining a condition of stasis and they have been subordinated to political and social goals.

(c) Social Goals

With rapid change in values over the past few years the most important goal area to most Pacific Islanders is social development especially in the provision of educational and health facilities[2]. The Anglophone group has recognised the strength of this demand and, within the available resources has met this felt need. In the French area there has been the quite different goal of producing a local élite, educated in French values and orientated towards France. Widespread social development is not sought as it is, perhaps correctly, seen as posing a potential threat to the maintenance of French political control. In Western Samoa, where the view is strongly held that Samoan culture is superior to all others, the aim of social development has been restricted to maintaining the Samoan heritage and the Samoan way of life.

The Inputs of Development

The resource inputs into the various countries and territories in terms of both manpower and finance vary considerably but do divide simply into Anglophone and Francophone approaches. In terms of human resources, much the greatest input has been made in Papua New Guinea where a very large public service has been built up to serve a population nearing 3,000,000. Unlike the other countries of the Anglophone area, Papua New Guinea has made much use of expatriate civil servants who, as recently as 1972, totalled over 6,000. In the absence of a tradition of large scale agriculture and an indigenous commercial group, another quite large group of expatriates was employed in agriculture, commerce and mining. With the approach of independence the number of expatriates has declined but the rate of growth in public employment has remained high.

By way of contrast with Papua New Guinea, the rate of growth of the public services has been comparatively slow in Fiji, the British Solomons, Western Samoa and the New Hebrides, although not always for the same reasons. Thus, before Fiji became independent, Britain was both unable and unwilling to put large manpower resources into development and since independence the Fijian government has faced difficult economic circumstances. A similar situation has occurred in Western Samoa and is being repeated in the British Solomons.

[2]There is a dichotomy of views over development with the mass of the populace opting for social development in health and education and many members of elite groups espousing the causes of agricultural and other forms of economic development.

The French Government has shown little interest in markedly increasing its manpower in the New Hebrides but in both French Melanesia and French Polynesia the situation is quite different. French Melanesia, especially the large island of New Caledonia, is an important economic asset and in the years since Algeria became independent a large number of 'colons' have come to the territory both to an already well-staffed civil service and to the industrial and commercial infrastructure built up on the prosperity of the great nickel mines[3]. This solid economic base does not exist in French Polynesia but the importance of the territory as a nuclear testing area has resulted in a large increase in the number of expatriates, backed up by the presence of the Foreign Legion and in the provision of much new infrastructure[4].

In the financial field a similar situation occurs with only Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia and Nauru being comparatively well off. Papua New Guinea has received very large grants from Australia and has some large mineral resources, New Caledonia has its nickel and the tiny island of Nauru, with a miniscule population of some 6,000, has a very large income from its phosphate deposits.

While manpower and finance have been vital inputs into the development effort in the South Pacific, the most important single input has been the introduction of Western-concerned values. The European impact in Polynesia was nearly fatal to the indigenous cultural systems. Where they have survived, as in Tonga and Western Samoa, they have been very heavily modified by imported values – especially those associated with religion and more recently with tourism and the materialist cultures of Australia, New Zealand and the United States. In Melanesia, where the difficulties of communication are much greater and the European impact was delayed, the destruction of indigenous value systems did not proceed so far. However the more recent impact of education has had a result comparable to that of religion in Polynesia in transforming the value system of the élite groups, which are mainly located in the small urban areas. The development of tourism is a recent phenomenon and has not yet affected the values of a substantial part of the population.

The Practice of Development

Although the practices used cover most of the possible permutations of development, they may be summed up in three approaches which for want of better terms may be dubbed "planned", "*ad hoc*" and "reluctant". The planned approach, which is practised in Papua New Guinea, Fiji and the British Solomons seeks by the use of central planning offices, staffed by highly-qualified local and expatriate staff, to mesh economic and social development with a thought-out set of objectives and a predicted assessment of the environmental factors of the next few years. The *ad hoc* approach, typified by Tonga and Nauru, puts much less faith in formal plans with all their attendant rigidities, and attempts through a pragmatic approach to

[3]In recent times tourism has become an important input of development in parts of the French territories.

[4]W. Tagupa: Centre d'Experimentations du Pacifique 1963-1973 A Decade of Debate in French Polynesia in *Australian Outlook*, April, 1974.

capitalise on fleeting opportunities. The reluctant approach, seen in Western Samoa and the New Hebrides, seeks to maintain the *status quo* and only "moves" when absolutely necessary. Change, within which is included development, is seen as being dysfunctional to the culture and/or the ruling group(s).

The actual techniques used can in turn be placed in four compartments which are largely, but not wholly, discrete. The first and least sophisticated is the direct imitation of perceived Western models. Many examples of this are to be seen in Papua New Guinea, the British Solomons, and Fiji in such items as the local government system, the use of written constitutions and the creation of Westminster parliamentary systems; and in the educational systems where curricula and examinations are often copies of those from a metropolitan country and the universities endeavour to become copies of the Anglo-Australian model, concerned with academic standards rather than the country's development needs.

The second technique is the imitation of methods used in other developing countries. Thus in Fiji not only has the "operations room" been taken over from Malaysia but imitation has gone to the length of copying the colour of the 'red book' used for project control. Papua New Guinea has despatched a number of missions to African countries to look for models which might be imitated, and, in the British Solomons, officers who have previously worked in Africa seek to reproduce the patterns they knew there earlier.

In the French territories a different technique has been used – the direct imposition of the systems of the metropolitan country – that system being regarded as the normative one.

The remaining technique, of using essentially only the elements within one's own culture, requires a high degree of self confidence and of the countries of the South Pacific only Western Samoa and Tonga appear to have this.

The Results of Development Efforts

What then have been the results of a quarter century of development effort in this rather remote corner of the world? How well have the actual outputs matched those which were sought by governments and peoples?

In political development the non-French territories have almost all achieved, or will soon achieve, full independence and most have opted for a Westminster system. But, while there are be-robed speakers and all the outward form of British democracy, the appearance is sometimes delusory and all the systems have been heavily modified in the spirit if not in the law and some may not easily survive the next decade. In Papua New Guinea the protracted hearings of the committee set up to recommend on a constitution have revealed that a substantial number of politicians and academics are highly critical of the Westminster system. The country is divided between highlanders and coastal people and islanders, between Papuans and New Guineans, and regionalism is an ever present spectre. The small, but well-trained military force could easily prove the decisive factor in the case of large-scale internal

difficulties and, together with the police, provide a unifying centre for a country which has yet to show real signs of becoming a nation.

In the British Solomons efforts were made to introduce an apparently more suitable form of government – and one which was based on local culture patterns – in the form of a Governing Council which worked through committees. But the effort proved abortive in the face of opposition from Solomon Islanders who felt that they were being given a second best system. A new constitution providing for a measure of self government came into effect in 1974 but it is still too early to judge its success.

In the New Hebrides the perennial conflict resulting from the differing objectives of Britain and France has resulted in a moratorium on political development* and the recent growth of a number of small nationalist movements aimed basically at complete independence from both of the occupying powers.

In the French territories local assemblies have been established but they have little power and achieve little because of the conflict between the French governor and the very vocal *autonomiste* groups. A large military force has been maintained to guarantee the French presence.

In the Anglophone countries political development has been achieved in the sense of bringing most countries to, or at least well towards, full independence, but the long viability of the democratic systems appears doubtful because many of the basic values do not appear to have been "internalised". In the Francophone territories political development has not progressed far and certainly has not met the aspirations of the local populations who see their primary task as being the expulsion of the French.

Of the four main problems which affect the world to-day – inflation, food supply, the environment and over-population – it is the last which is the most critical in the South Pacific. The problem is not acute in Melanesia, where there are quite large land areas, but in Polynesia and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands it is already critical. Until recently the rate of population growth in Western Samoa was 4 per cent per annum which would have doubled the existing population in 18 years and was close to the physiological limit of human reproduction. Even in Fiji where the birth rate has been reduced to some 27 per thousand, the problem is immense for some 43 per cent of the population is under 16 years of age.

Urban drift is now pronounced and sizeable towns are growing with the Suva area having a population of over 100,000. Along with this urban growth has come the squatter settlements so familiar in larger and older developing countries, sex imbalance as young men move to the towns, and the growth of a sizeable group of unemployed, sometimes just in from the village and without education but increasingly made up of the partly educated – generally those with only a primary education.

**Nonetheless steps have been taken recently as a result of Anglo-French initiatives to introduce a harmonised form of local government with particular relevance to the two main urban areas* (Ed.).

Great aspirations have been raised and in all the islands there is a continuing demand for schools and medical care. But financial resources are very limited and service in the rural areas is unattractive to the urban-oriented professionals. In Polynesia many of the demands for these basic social services can be met but this is not the case in Melanesia where, for example, only some 50 per cent of Papua New Guinea's primary-age children can expect to be in school in 1980.

The Christian religion is still a strong force but is losing its hold over populations affected by values introduced by education and tourism and the only real growth is to be found in the millenarean sects, such as Jehovah's Witnesses and the Mormons. The nuclear family is growing in importance in the towns but everywhere the extended family remains strong as the real guarantor of social security.

While there have been positive results in both political and social development the same cannot be said about economic development. Despite the best efforts of central planning units, economic growth and development has been slow and erratic, except in the case of Papua New Guinea where there have been massive injections of Australian aid and substantial returns from mining; in New Caledonia, supported by the great nickel mines; and more recently in French Polynesia as a result of the nuclear testing programme. Almost everywhere agricultural development has stagnated or declined and such export markets as existed are being lost. Most of the countries are now no longer self sufficient, even in the basic local foodstuffs and temporary shipping difficulties cause major food shortages.

There is very little industrial development and few prospects outside of mining in the large islands, due to the small size of the markets, high material costs and low labour productivity.

The only real growth industry has been tourism, particularly from Australia and the United States, but this now has a somewhat uncertain future because of steeply rising costs and a growing opposition to it by many indigenous leaders. Nearly all profits from tourism leave the country and, outside the construction industry, local employment opportunities are few and mainly for domestic labour, taxi drivers, etc.

All the smaller countries of the South Pacific suffer from economic dependence on industrialised states, particularly Australia and France with Japan endeavouring to enter the field. In the Anglophone areas there is a widening gap between the élite who derive their income from government employment and the remainder of the population. In the Francophone areas the gap is even larger but is between the colons and French officials on the one hand and the indigenous population on the other.

Conclusion

What then have been the results of a quarter century of development efforts by governments, international bodies and many hundreds of devoted workers? Can the countries and territories of the South Pacific face the future with confidence, rather than apprehension, knowing that the difficulties

which they face are capable of being overcome by better planning, better administration and more help from the developed world?

Unfortunately the experience of the last two decades can give little confidence in the ability of politicians, economists and administrators to prepare these disparate small islands for the difficult times which lie ahead. Only in the political field have there been marked advances and then only in the Anglophone area. Social development, if measured in terms of the number of schools and dispensaries built, has certainly taken place but if measured in terms of change in social attitudes, it has barely begun. Economic development has transformed some areas but its impact has been erratic, its by-products not often comprehended and it has by-passed some countries almost completely.

At this stage the future still holds a promise for a better life but some ominous signs have appeared. These are:

new political and social élites have been created which may easily become self perpetuating and divorced from the mass of the population,

long strides have been taken, in the name of development, towards destroying rather than transforming the physical and social environments,

new mass aspirations have been created which cannot hope to be met in the forseeable future.

Often with the best intentions development efforts have resulted in the magnification, rather than the solution of existing social and economic problems and quite large resources have been diverted into apparent technological panaceas.

Development in the South Pacific has, at best, been only a partial success, not through bad luck or shortage of resources but largely because it started too late to allow for the necessarily slow change in values which are the most important element in environmental adaptation and because it has been viewed by politicians and administrators in partial rather than holistic terms.

Local Administrators, no more than political leaders, can alone ensure the success of development efforts in the South Pacific. They can, however, go a substantial way if they accept the challenge to define clearly the goals of development in terms of the needs of their own societies; to understand the increasingly complex environment in which they live and not only respond to its demands but try to anticipate them; to realise that the essential inputs for development must come almost entirely from within their own countries; and to seek for administrative models which match their own socio-cultural patterns and are not mere copies of those of developed countries. Above all the challenge involves a realisation of how much there is yet to do, how little time is available and how, to a large degree, the future of the countries of the South Pacific is in their hands.

The Disaster Unit in the Ministry of Overseas Development

By SUSAN UNSWORTH

Miss Unsworth is on the staff of the Ministry of Overseas Development and has served in the Ministry's Disaster Unit.

THE establishment of a Disaster Unit in The Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM) in August, 1974 attracted more attention than internal reorganisations of Government Departments generally do. This was no doubt in part because disasters are always newsworthy, but also because the preceding year had seen a good deal of public concern about events in the Sahel and Ethopia, and a good deal of critical reporting of the role of external relief organisations in both these disasters. The creation of special arrangements for handling relief was welcomed by existing relief agencies and by sections of the press as a sign that Britain was prepared to take seriously some of the lessons of the past: nor was the significance of locating the new Unit in ODM lost on outside observers. Within Whitehall there were those who found difficulty in accepting relief as a proper activity of a development agency, and a similar attitude still appears to prevail among the majority of our EEC colleagues for whom the administration of disaster relief remains an incidental activity, largely political in character and therefore the concern of foreign offices. There are reports that the Dutch have recently set up a special Unit, but it is not yet clear how far this corresponds to our own arrangements.

Almost every report of disaster by the media contains criticism of one aspect or another of the way the relief operation is being handled. Although some of the stories are no doubt apocryphal, a good many of the strictures are probably merited. Moreover the record – such as the one contained in the London Technical Group's Bibliography – is one of the same mistakes repeated again and again: the wrong kind of help arrives too late; there are bottlenecks at ports and airports; lack of communication among donors results in duplication of supplies, and so on. There was, in short, a whole set of practical problems involved in mounting a relief operation which demanded the attention of the Unit at an early stage. At the same time we were conscious of growing public concern, especially in the wake of the large-scale relief operations in the Sahel and Ethiopia, about the transitory nature of much of this type of assistance, and the possible side-effects of large amounts of external food aid or sophisticated medical help.

Disaster relief is of course in many ways a very unsatisfactory form of aid. It is essentially a stopgap measure when things go wrong. Often (most obviously in famine and drought situations) it treats the symptoms rather than the underlying cause of a problem; it is generally given under great

pressure of time, by many different agencies acting on the basis of inadequate information. If it is emergency aid it will probably be air-freighted and that is always very expensive.

Nevertheless there clearly are times of crisis when first aid is needed, and our experience over the past year has made us increasingly conscious that the kind of help provided and the way in which it is given can make the difference not only between life and death for the immediate victims of a disaster but to the speed of recovery of the whole community. Part of our job is of course to be good "disaster" experts – knowing where to locate essential supplies quickly, being able to look critically at shopping lists of relief requirements, relating our action to that of other donors and so on. The other, equally important part of our job is to bring to the task of disaster relief the experience of a development agency – and here our relationship with other parts of ODM and with geographical departments in particular is a critical one.

The considerable practical difficulties of mounting a relief operation should not be under-estimated. Disasters demand a different pace of work from other forms of aid – in an emergency where lives are at stake the time factor becomes critical. Hence the importance of the contingency planning which the Unit has done to ensure that we are able to get hold of supplies (in particular transport) at short notice; the delegated financial authority to ensure that we are able to operate freely in and outside office hours; the compiling of indexes and check lists for action and so on. Although the system is not foolproof we can claim to have achieved a measure of success, and in quite a number of the disasters in which we have been involved (Bangladesh, Honduras, Somalia, Mozambique) British aid has been among the first to arrive.

At the same time we always have to balance the need to act quickly against the advantage of waiting for fuller information which may change the picture about needs, and we are always conscious that a hasty response on the basis of inadequate information may be the wrong one or may duplicate action taken by another agency. In virtually every disaster we have dealt with we have found that one of the most difficult things is getting accurate information about needs and finding out what the many other donors involved are doing to meet them. At the moment, despite the fact that United Nations Disaster Relief Organisation (UNDRO) has been in existence for more than three years, governments and agencies still respond (often in a largely uncoordinated fashion) to reports sent back by their individual diplomatic or field staff, and co-ordination between local donor representatives often appears pretty inadequate. The only way of getting anything like a complete and reliable picture is by building up an informal network of contacts with the Disasters Emergency Committee, the League of Red Cross Societies, individual UN agencies and donor governments, and pooling and cross-checking the information coming in from each of these sources. This we have attempted, but although we have undoubtedly done something to improve the flow of information and in general had very good co-operation from others involved, arrangements for co-ordination remain pretty haphazard. It is for this reason that we have spent a good deal of time thinking about

and trying to improve the organisational framework within which donors can work together and in particular have joined with other major donors to consider how to improve the capacity of UNDRO to play a central co-ordinating role.

Our most important contribution to the debate about UNDRO seems to me to have been our insistence that the problems of disaster relief whether of communications, logistics, assessment of needs or co-ordination cannot be solved by the donor community acting alone but must take into account local priorities, capabilities and resources. We have become increasingly conscious over the past year that the key to a successful relief operation lies with the organisation and administration of relief in the affected country, and it is for this reason that we have begun to explore the scope of pre-disaster planning and insisted that this is an integral part of UNDRO's mandate. Equally, in exercising its relief co-ordination functions we have seen UNDRO acting not simply as a clearing house of information for donors but as a bridge or channel of communication between the international community and the stricken country, and this concept is reflected in the proposal that UNDRO field a "flying squad" to the scene of a major disaster.

We hope that this will be a means of getting better and more up to date field reports. If UNDRO is to establish the credibility with donor countries which will enable it to exercise a co-ordinating role, it is essential that it gains the reputation of being a more accurate and reliable source of information about needs than any individual government or agency's own representative. The quality of staff recruited will be crucial because the job of assessing needs and determining the appropriate response can be a highly skilled one. But however good the team is from a technical point of view the quality of its advice to donors will depend very heavily on how closely it works with the local administration and relief groups, and relates its action to the local Government's needs, priorities and administrative capacity.

Of course there will often be political difficulties in establishing this kind of special relationship with a local government. The role of a UN agency in this situation will always be difficult, but the UNDRO team should have the advantage that, unlike Resident Representatives of UNDP and the specialised agencies, they will be outsiders and should therefore be in a better position to establish and maintain an attitude of impartiality. Although they will be outsiders their close association with the UNDP office for the duration of their stay should place them in a good position to improve local co-ordination between representatives of the various UN agencies, donor governments, and voluntary agencies; they should also be able to take account, in drawing up their situation reports, of ongoing programmes of UNICEF or The World Food Programme (WFP) and of the way in which their existing resources can be deployed to meet emergency and longer term needs. We found, for example, during the aftermath of hurricane Fifi in Honduras that the biggest gap in international arrangements for co-ordination is during the transitional stage when UNDRO is handing back responsibility to UNDP, and if co-operation can be established during the emergency phase this should not only make for more rational use of resources for relief but also for a smoother transition to rehabilitation.

pressure of time, by many different agencies acting on the basis of inadequate information. If it is emergency aid it will probably be air-freighted and that is always very expensive.

Nevertheless there clearly are times of crisis when first aid is needed, and our experience over the past year has made us increasingly conscious that the kind of help provided and the way in which it is given can make the difference not only between life and death for the immediate victims of a disaster but to the speed of recovery of the whole community. Part of our job is of course to be good "disaster" experts – knowing where to locate essential supplies quickly, being able to look critically at shopping lists of relief requirements, relating our action to that of other donors and so on. The other, equally important part of our job is to bring to the task of disaster relief the experience of a development agency – and here our relationship with other parts of ODM and with geographical departments in particular is a critical one.

The considerable practical difficulties of mounting a relief operation should not be under-estimated. Disasters demand a different pace of work from other forms of aid – in an emergency where lives are at stake the time factor becomes critical. Hence the importance of the contingency planning which the Unit has done to ensure that we are able to get hold of supplies (in particular transport) at short notice; the delegated financial authority to ensure that we are able to operate freely in and outside office hours; the compiling of indexes and check lists for action and so on. Although the system is not foolproof we can claim to have achieved a measure of success, and in quite a number of the disasters in which we have been involved (Bangladesh, Honduras, Somalia, Mozambique) British aid has been among the first to arrive.

At the same time we always have to balance the need to act quickly against the advantage of waiting for fuller information which may change the picture about needs, and we are always conscious that a hasty response on the basis of inadequate information may be the wrong one or may duplicate action taken by another agency. In virtually every disaster we have dealt with we have found that one of the most difficult things is getting accurate information about needs and finding out what the many other donors involved are doing to meet them. At the moment, despite the fact that United Nations Disaster Relief Organisation (UNDRO) has been in existence for more than three years, governments and agencies still respond (often in a largely uncoordinated fashion) to reports sent back by their individual diplomatic or field staff, and co-ordination between local donor representatives often appears pretty inadequate. The only way of getting anything like a complete and reliable picture is by building up an informal network of contacts with the Disasters Emergency Committee, the League of Red Cross Societies, individual UN agencies and donor governments, and pooling and cross-checking the information coming in from each of these sources. This we have attempted, but although we have undoubtedly done something to improve the flow of information and in general had very good co-operation from others involved, arrangements for co-ordination remain pretty haphazard. It is for this reason that we have spent a good deal of time thinking about

and trying to improve the organisational framework within which donors can work together and in particular have joined with other major donors to consider how to improve the capacity of UNDRO to play a central co-ordinating role.

Our most important contribution to the debate about UNDRO seems to me to have been our insistence that the problems of disaster relief whether of communications, logistics, assessment of needs or co-ordination cannot be solved by the donor community acting alone but must take into account local priorities, capabilities and resources. We have become increasingly conscious over the past year that the key to a successful relief operation lies with the organisation and administration of relief in the affected country, and it is for this reason that we have begun to explore the scope of pre-disaster planning and insisted that this is an integral part of UNDRO's mandate. Equally, in exercising its relief co-ordination functions we have seen UNDRO acting not simply as a clearing house of information for donors but as a bridge or channel of communication between the international community and the stricken country, and this concept is reflected in the proposal that UNDRO field a "flying squad" to the scene of a major disaster.

We hope that this will be a means of getting better and more up to date field reports. If UNDRO is to establish the credibility with donor countries which will enable it to exercise a co-ordinating role, it is essential that it gains the reputation of being a more accurate and reliable source of information about needs than any individual government or agency's own representative. The quality of staff recruited will be crucial because the job of assessing needs and determining the appropriate response can be a highly skilled one. But however good the team is from a technical point of view the quality of its advice to donors will depend very heavily on how closely it works with the local administration and relief groups, and relates its action to the local Government's needs, priorities and administrative capacity.

Of course there will often be political difficulties in establishing this kind of special relationship with a local government. The role of a UN agency in this situation will always be difficult, but the UNDRO team should have the advantage that, unlike Resident Representatives of UNDP and the specialised agencies, they will be outsiders and should therefore be in a better position to establish and maintain an attitude of impartiality. Although they will be outsiders their close association with the UNDP office for the duration of their stay should place them in a good position to improve local co-ordination between representatives of the various UN agencies, donor governments, and voluntary agencies; they should also be able to take account, in drawing up their situation reports, of ongoing programmes of UNICEF or The World Food Programme (WFP) and of the way in which their existing resources can be deployed to meet emergency and longer term needs. We found, for example, during the aftermath of hurricane Fifi in Honduras that the biggest gap in international arrangements for co-ordination is during the transitional stage when UNDRO is handing back responsibility to UNDP, and if co-operation can be established during the emergency phase this should not only make for more rational use of resources for relief but also for a smoother transition to rehabilitation.

In this way the key to success for UNDRO is very much the same as the key to success for the Unit – it lies in its ability to inject into the normal development channels of the UN system that special disaster expertise which allows it to handle the particular problems thrown up by an emergency, while at the same time showing greater sensitivity to the social, economic, and administrative framework of the country in which it is operating than has sometimes been shown by traditional relief agencies. However urgent the need for action may appear, it is as important for aid to be appropriate in a disaster situation as it is in a more normal development context. Many of the mistakes which have been made in the past are the result of foreign donors rushing in with well-intentioned but ill-considered relief supplies. For example it is much too easily assumed that food is always a need after a disaster and moreover that any kind of food is better than none. There are, however, plenty of examples of food which has proved unacceptable to local people being wasted, and in many cases there may be no need for food to be brought in from outside at all – the need in The capital of Nicaragua, Managua, after the earthquake was for cash to enable people to buy food that was locally available and not for plane loads of tomato ketchup from the States. There are any number of similar examples of mistakes resulting from an inadequate understanding of conditions in the disaster area such as medical help which is either too sophisticated or unnecessary; items of clothing airfreighted at great expense which no one is prepared to wear; shelter which, to take the Managua example again, went unused because the extended family system took care of the refugees problem and so on.

Inappropriate aid is not only very expensive but can hamper relief efforts by creating bottlenecks in ports and airports and by imposing unnecessary administrative burdens on relief workers. Moreover it can delay the return to normal life either because it consumes resources which would have been better used elsewhere or because the way in which relief is administered can in itself create secondary problems. This is equally true of sudden natural catastrophes such as the hurricane which hit Belize city in 1961 and of the "slow burning" type of disaster such as last year's drought in Somalia and Ethiopia: in the first case the siting of emergency shelter some fifteen miles outside the city resulted in the creation of a new town without any adequate infrastructure or employment opportunities; in the second the administration of relief in camps resulted in the creation of large numbers of people dependent on food aid.

In deciding the part which we are to play in any relief effort we need to be constantly aware of the implications of our action and of the extent to which decisions taken during the emergency phase may help to determine the subsequent scope and direction of rehabilitation. Our position as a Unit within ODM, in close touch with geographical departments, should enable us to view the current crisis, whatever it may be, in its wider context. Although a disaster may be precipitated by a sudden occurrence such as an earthquake or cyclone the resulting situation is the product of a whole set of circumstances prevailing before the event which help to determine its impact. It may be, as in Somalia where some 80 per cent of the population is nomadic, that the economic and social organisation of the country makes it particularly

vulnerable to failure of the annual rains; elsewhere drought may be in part at least, the result of overgrazing or misuse of water resources. Poor communications can leave isolated communities (as in Ethiopia) particularly at risk to famine or (as in Pakistan after last year's earthquake) make it difficult to identify the extent of a disaster or to bring relief in quickly. Excessive reliance on a single cash crop can spell disaster if it is attacked by disease; overcrowded and insanitary conditions in a city or refugee camp can turn an outbreak of cholera into an epidemic, and so on. A disaster can often serve to reveal or highlight underlying problems of this kind; we need to be alert to identify them and alive to the opportunities which are sometimes offered by the disruption of normal life to tackle them. A good example, although we have not ourselves been involved, is the attempt by the authorities in Somalia to reduce the vulnerability of their people to future droughts by resettling large numbers from the camps in a rather less precarious way of life. It remains to be seen whether the very hasty evacuation of camps will create a new disaster in its turn; but this is the sort of situation which calls for very close liaison between the Unit and geographical departments, not only to ensure as smooth a transition as possible from relief to rehabilitation but also to make sure that any lessons for future development policies emerging from the disaster are passed on. It is worth noting that this role applies equally to "slow burning" or sudden natural disasters, and in large part to situations which result from war or civil disturbance – and serves to underline the artificiality of the distinction between "natural" and "man-made" disasters which is the basis for the present division of responsibility for disasters between ODM and FCO.

It is looking a long way into the future to say that many disasters need never happen at all but there is undoubtedly a great deal of scope for mitigating the effects of natural phenomena, either by taking early action at the first sign of trouble or through better forward planning and preventive measures. The Unit was set up against the background of considerable concern about the late reaction of the international community to drought conditions in the Sahel and Ethiopia, and included in the Unit's terms of reference is the responsibility for monitoring "slow onset" disasters of this kind. This it has done by building up a network of informal contacts among voluntary agencies and official relief organisations: the benefits should be on the one hand, as was the case in Somalia this year, that an impending crisis is recognised in time for preventive action to be taken and, on the other hand (as was the case in Ethiopia) that we should avoid being driven into hasty or ill-conceived action on the strength of sudden reports of disaster by the media.

The area of pre-disaster planning and prevention is one which we have explored with increasing interest over the past year as we came to recognise its importance and potential scope. At one end of the spectrum comes the limited but none the less vital contingency planning which can be done for co-ordination of essential services in the event of an emergency. A brief survey of arrangements in the Eastern Caribbean suggests that useful planning can be done by administrators working from first principles with a good knowledge of local conditions without anything too sophisticated in the way of

administrative machinery or equipment. Striking improvements have been made to meteorological services in recent years through the World Weather Watch Programme which means that early warning of hurricances or cyclones can almost always be expected: it is therefore particularly disappointing that administrative arrangements have not kept pace with technical improvements and that so many disaster-prone countries still lack any kind of basic emergency plan.

None of the organisations (including the League of Red Cross Societies, UNDRO and The World Meteorological Organisation (WMO) currently concerned with the introduction of this type of contingency planning would claim that it is in any way a substitute for more far-reaching preventive measures, but in the short-term it can reduce confusion and human misery in the aftermath of a disaster. In the longer-term, as both UNDRO and the University of Bradford's Disaster Unit have been emphasising, pre-disaster planning must be based on thorough investigation of the probability and extent of risk to which a country is exposed and an examination of the structural problems which make it particularly vulnerable: planning at this level involves looking at such things as land use policies, water development, town planning, crop selection and rapidly becomes an integral part of development.

This is not to suggest that the Unit should in any way usurp geographical department responsibilities by taking on an executive role in the preplanning field. But it should be exploring the issues involved further with groups such as the Disaster Research Unit at Bradford, and stimulating discussion of them within ODM, for this is yet another area in which the problems of disaster and disaster relief need to be examined in the context of development.

Looking ahead to the coming year there is a great deal of scope for further improvement of the way emergency relief is handled: one is the whole area of logistics, particularly transport which is a problem in virtually every disaster situation. It is an area in which UNDRO might usefully commission some work, and it is to be hoped that its plans to build up a "data bank" of basic information about particularly disaster-prone countries should help with some of the problems of mobilising relief – for example by indicating the possibilities of local purchase of certain items or by helping to identify in advance some of the potential bottlenecks in the internal communications network. The Unit will need to follow these developments closely in the coming year, and also to look at such questions as the best way of providing emergency shelter and at ways of improving the interpretation of data and assessment of needs in a famine situation.

We have been concerned at the effect of disaster aid on subsequent development and this aspect has been more fully discussed above. There is an urgent need for donors to take a more critical view of their operations: there have been encouraging signs recently that the Disasters Emergency Committee is alive to the need for some evaluation of its efforts, but at the moment donors as a whole are hampered by the absence of any really good system of post-disaster reporting. Reporting has tended to be restricted to a narrative account of what individual donors have done without any serious attempt at

critical evaluation of the results. This is no doubt in part because of agency, donor and recipient government sensitivity, but UNDRO, we know is well seized of the importance of evaluation; and on a bilateral basis there would seem to be scope for pursuing the idea that ODM should sponsor an outside body to carry out a post-disaster survey for the Ministry. We have tried in some cases to check back on the use made of relief supplies sent by the Unit, but we have no overall picture of any of the relief operations in which we have been involved, with the partial exception of Somalia – and this kind of feedback is essential if we are to learn from past mistakes.

One particular contribution which the Unit could make in the coming year is to try to bring together the various groups involved in looking at different aspects of the disaster relief field: the voluntary agencies whose field representatives actually administer a good deal of the relief; donors who supply the greater part of external aid; research groups such as the Bradford Unit and the International African Institute looking at some of the wider issues; the Royal Society and the London Technical Group engaged in longer term scientific research and field survey work respectively. There has been a tendency in the past for each of these groups to work in isolation, and to be openly critical of the approach of other groups.

The Unit has taken part in a seminar this year which brought together a member of UNDRO's staff, members of the Disaster Research Unit, University of Bradford and of the London Technical Group, representatives of the voluntary agencies and research workers from the Oxford Polytechnic and London University to open the discussion about the needs for various types of shelter in differing climatic and social conditions and the best ways of meeting them. It is to be hoped that the meeting will not only lead to some useful work but provide the basis for further co-operation of this kind. There is a need both for a more critical and imaginative approach to the practical problems of relief adminstration on the part of donors and relief workers, and for action to translate the results of research and the kind of goals set out in UNDRO's "world prevention strategy" into practical programmes. The position of the ODM Unit, as part both of the disaster and development worlds, should make it uniquely well placed to play an active part in this process.

People sometimes ask us what we do between disasters, and this paper is an attempt to answer that and to suggest what we should be doing in the future. It is a key question because the justification for the existence of a full-time Unit such as ours lies in the answer we are able to give to it. It is this answer that will determine whether we have a serious contribution to make in the field of disaster relief or whether we become simply another executive department of ODM which keeps airline timetables and can get a plane off the ground without too much delay.

Management Services in Nigeria

By PITA N. EJIOFOR

Mr. Ejiofor is lecturer and acting Head, Department of Business Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.

The Meaning of Management

Some erroneous notions

MANY less well-informed Nigerians have naive ideas of what management is, or of what the manager does. Some still think of him as the former colonial master bossing a gang of African labourers, or as the Nigerian élite now occupying an erstwhile expatriate's post. A few see him as the official who goes on tour, has a secretary, and who appends his signature to important documents; others see him as the university graduate pen-pusher sitting in a cosy office in one of the state capitals. The most hostile have the impression that he is an official who does nothing but bark out orders!

Many Nigerians also follow the traditional view of applying the word manager only to top executives of *business* organisations or public corporations. To them, the senior assistant secretary in the public service organisation, the hospital secretary, the university registrar, the christian bishop overseeing his diocese, the moslem chief imam, the army brigadier commanding his brigade, the police superintendent and the university dean leading his faculty, do not rate as managers. They belong to a different order of things. Such narrowness of vision needs to be corrected.

The purpose of this paper is to show the breadth of managerial functions in the Nigerian context, and how managers have a pivotal role to play in indigenizing the economy, to show also how the growth rate of a country's gross national product (GNP) is an index of the efficiency of the country's managers and the resilience of her resources.

Management can best be described as the art of working, particularly through people, for the achievement of the broad goals of an organisation. In thus trying to achieve these goals, the manager has to map and keep remapping, his strategy; he must find the people and the material to do the job, assign different people to different jobs, ensure that these jobs are being done as planned, and report back the results of his work to his own superiors. In the words of Koontz and O'Donnel, "in co-ordinating group activity, the manager plans, organises, staffs, directs and controls[1]".

A rather fine distinction between the jobs of managers and other categories of high-level manpower hinges on the practicability of delegating responsibility. A manager can delegate his functions to subordinates. In fact, the

[1]Koontz and O'Donnel, *Principles of Management* (Graw-Hill Book Company, New York), 1964, p. 4.

ability to delegate responsibility and still get the job done effectively is the acid test of management talent.

The following epitaph carved on the tombstone of Andrew Carnegie, a successful industrialist, most eloquently portrays the fact that the battlefield where the manager wins or perishes in organisations, is not in doing every job himself, but in getting others to do his bidding:

Here lies a man
Who knew how to enlist
In his service
Better men than himself.

Thus, it seems to be true that the manager spends most of his time talking with people, and that he works through people. And yet, we often hear managers complaining that they receive so many people and listen to so many petitions, that they don't have the time to do their work!

The Management Industry in Nigeria

The management industry is made up of the consumers of managerial talent, the organisations supplying the managerial manpower needs, and the institutions servicing those organisations, and it has three main component parts.

(a) The Consumer Organisations

The consumers of managerial talent include the public service, the universities, business enterprises and corporations, the army, the police, religious organisations, etc. It has been estimated that there are 60,000 middle and senior management personnel in Nigeria, running enterprises engaging more than ten employees, and that approximately 60 per cent of these managers are in the private sector, 10,000 of them expatriates[2] (1974 estimates). These institutions need an additional 3,500 managers every year to cater for their expanding needs, and to make good wastage due to death, resignation or retirement. About 1,000 of these are for the senior managerial and administrative posts, and the rest for junior managerial and supervisory function[3]. Altogether, about 120,000 managers of all levels manage enterprises of different sizes in different parts of Nigeria.

How good is our managerial talent? In a study published by the National Manpower Board on Management in Nigerian industries, it was found that "... only 5.6 per cent of the indigenous Nigerian Managers were assessed by their establishment as being of excellent managerial calibre, and just over 40 per cent as being good". Inadequate education, inadequate experience and lack of training are given as the reasons for the relatively low performance[4]. Thus it seems valid to conclude that the demand for managerial talent is high, but that the consumer organisations are forced to utilize the

[2]Figures put to the United Nations Development Programme by the Government of Nigeria in support of a request for assistance relating to the Centre for Management Development.
[3]*Second National Development Plan*, 1970-1974, p. 318.
[4]*Second National Development Plan*, p. 318.

services of staff which is inept and of poor quality. The top echelons of our public service on the other hand have been rated very highly by independent organisations[5].

(b) The Producer Organisations

At the other end of the production – consumption continuum are the organisations concerned with training the managers. These include the various institutes of administration, the colleges of technology, the polytechnics, the Nigerian Institute of Management, the Nigerian Defence Academy, the proposed Administrative Staff College, etc. These institutions offer courses in organisation, management and public administration leading to the award of degrees, diplomas or certificates. Some large companies also offer in-company management development facilities. Most notable of these are BP Nigeria, Dunlop, Shell Nigeria Ltd., Shell-BP Petroleum Development Corporation, the United Africa Company and International Business Machines.

Located at the apex of these organisations in terms of planned scope of operation and responsibility for co-ordination is the recently reconstituted Nigerian Council for Management Education and Training. The functions of this Council include:

a. co-ordinating and obtaining agreement concerning future programmes of management education and training, including their subject, location, standard, capacity, frequency, duration, type and cost;

b. maintaining an up-to-date register of all available programmes and ensuring adequate publicity;

c. providing a means of exchanging relevant information and ideas[6].

An executive arm of this Council – the Centre for Management Development – has just been created to "undertake in-plant consulting and engage in a continuous programme of research into local problems and trends in management . . .[7]" Neither the Council nor the Centre has existed long enough yet to make a big impact in the training and up-grading of management in Nigeria.

(c) The Service Agencies

Of increasing importance in the management industry is the ever growing number of management consultancy firms. These provide services of an analytical or advisory nature to organisations which have need of a particular managerial expertise which does not reside within the client body – perhaps because its installation on a permanent basis would be too costly.

In addition, consultant recommendations are sought because they tend to be hallowed by an aura of objectivity, detachment and impersonality, and so are well suited for the introduction of unpalatable but necessary changes into organisations.

---

[5] *Newsweek*, March 4, 1974; p. 13.
[6] *Second National Development Plan*, p. 318.
[7] *Ibid.*

In summary, all formal organisations need management, and so when we think of the management industry as comprising suppliers and users of managerial talent, we are thinking of the cogs and the wheels of a nation. The Management industry is basic to a country's economic set up and to its body-politic.

The Role of Management in Nigeria

In working individually for the survival, growth and profitability of their organisations, the totality of managers plays a vital part in the economic and social development of present day Nigeria. Their role includes:

1. effecting a smooth change-over from a foreign to an indigenous economy;
2. maintaining the stability and soundness of Nigerian enterprises;
3. Pioneering innovation and managing the environment;
4. accelerating the growth rate of the Nigerian economy.

(a) EFFECTING A SMOOTH CHANGE-OVER FROM A FOREIGN TO AN INDIGENOUS ECONOMY

The indigenization Decree of March, 1972 was a landmark in the economic history of Nigeria. It was the economic climax to the post-independence programme of Nigerianization. It was a courageous act of faith of the Federal Military Government in the capability of our indigenous entrepreneurs and managers. As a result, the two-year period, April, 1972 to March, 1974 saw European displacement by Africans in the ownership and control of property, on a hitherto unprecedented scale. Exact figures on the number of businesses and shareholdings that changed ownership as well as the exact number of expatriates who were affected by the programme are yet to be released. However, there is an estimate that "... shares perhaps worth N30 million have been acquired by Nigerian citizens and organisations in foreign-owned businesses ..."[8]

It has already been said that the indigenization programme was an act of faith in the capabilities of our businessmen. An insight into the role that our managers are expected to play in implementing the decree can best be gained if one recalls the fears and forebodings which the decree aroused:

i. the possibility that foreign vested interests adversely affected by the decree might deliberately endanger the economic stability of the country; and that some Nigerians might conspire with hostile foreign interests;

ii. the likelihood that Nigerians could not generate enough capital within the country with which to buy up the indigenized buinesses, and that as a result of the uneven distribution of wealth among individuals and between different states of the country, the indigenization decree would merely change the skin of the economic predators and result in an undue concentration of wealth in a few local hands;

[8] *West Africa*, April 1, 1974; p. 362.

iii. the probability that there would not be enough Nigerians with proper training and experience to take over from expatriate managers, and the expectation that, owing to family, sectional, tribal and state-of-origin loyalties, workers whose organisation was bought up by a person with a different tribal affinity might lose their jobs;

iv. the near certainty that if all these circumstances materialised, indigenization would administer a severe setback to the Nigerian economy.

The spectres of political instability and capital insufficiency have turned out to be will-o'-the-wisps. They vanished into thin air as the indigenization deadline approached. A determined military government garnished with the laurels of a victorious civil war, underscored the stability of the country. Furthermore, considering the rough thoroughness of some sister African countries[9], foreign governments must have seen Nigeria's indigenization programme as nothing more serious than the just demands of a friend. Thus, the American magazine *Newsweek* wrote that "... despite Gowan's drive (to indigenize), foreign investors also make it clear that they too hope he will remain[10]." Regarding capital strength, the programme has shown that "on the whole, there is a great reserve of money in Nigeria for investment[11]" – indeed the issues of many of the localised companies were over-subscribed.

On the matter of Managerial Inadequacy, the author indicated earlier how a recently-undertaken study had rated only 5.6 per cent of Nigerian managers as "excellent" and just over 40 per cent as "good"; this implies that about 50 per cent of our managers and administrators are below the minimum standard of competence required – this at a time when the oil boom is boosting the economy and the need for new managerial personnel at all levels is probably greater than earlier estimates suggested.

Regarding the quantity of managerial talent available, the writer suggests using the following as indicators of the unfilled demand for managers in Nigeria:

i. the turnover rate among managers in organisation;

ii. the number of advertisements for management vacancies;

iii. the turnover rate among the senior staff of educational institutions: with relatively poorer conditions of service in educational institutions in terms of pay, power and influence, a skill drain away from institutions of higher learning into industry portends a disequilibrium in the management market. The recently reported Benue Plateau State government concern over "the rate at which people were quitting the teaching profession ... for other professions[12]," and the difficulty being encountered in recruiting lecturers in Accounting, Business, law and other professions in our universities are indications that organisations in Nigeria are straining themselves to fill their management vacancies.

---

[9]eg. Uganda, vide Colin Legum's *Africa Contemporary Record*, 1972-73.
[10]*Newsweek*, March 4, 1974; p. 13.
[11]*West Africa*, op cit, p. 362.
[12]*Daily Times*, July 8, 1974.

(b) Maintaining the stability of Nigerian Organisations

Good management/staff relations are essential for the survival and growth of any organisation. Just as wars can dismember a country, so can organisational strife ruin an organisation. It is the primary role of a manager to ensure that his organisation enjoys internal balance and equilibrium. To this end he must:

i. recognise that employees do not cease to be individuals when they join his organisation;

ii. recognise that his subordinates have different personality needs;

iii. try to fuse the needs and aspirations of the organisation with those of its members.

Both management and staff must recognise that their own goals and achievements and those of their organisation are interdependent.

Thus for the manager to succeed in maintaining the stability of his organisation, he must foster a unity of objectives – a perception by the organisation members that the only road to their success passes through the organisation – and a recognition by "those who make policy" at higher authority level, that an organisation that loses the support of its members is surely doomed.

The unenviable position of the manager in this fusion process is that of chief servant of "management" and chief executive over all the staff below him. His success is often measured in mundane terms – the amount of goods he "delivers"; that is, what profit he makes for the owner or directors, what the conditions of service are for the employees, and what mechanisms are built into the organisation for the resolution of conflict.

The manager must perennially feel the pulse of his organisation. In carrying out his plans, he has to anticipate the actions and reactions of others, otherwise he would be challenging a more powerful adversary. For example, a unilateral price cut is likely to be matched or even undercut by others, resulting in price wars. If a manager adamantly refuses to better conditions of service when competitors are doing so he may, at best, lose the cream of his work force, and at worst precipitate industrial action. The reluctance of the East Central State Government to give a car advance to teachers in the State is a case in point[13].

(c) Innovation and Environment Management

Environment management comprises the managerial techniques of getting organisations to adapt to the environment in order to help retain this stability and of influencing the environment so as to make it a better place to live in.

We have shown that managers work at the interface of their organisation and its environment. These environmental conditions comprise the norms, traditions, regulations, attitudes of the people, etc. However, for good

[13] *Daily Times*, Thursday, July 11, 1974.

managers, no environmental factor should be regarded as cast in a permanent mould. No conditions should be accepted as immutable. No decisions should be taken as final until implemented. He must strive to have adverse decisions altered.

The manager's job here is one of "shuttle diplomacy"; when he is not working for the abrogation of an unfavourable regulation, he is lobbying to prevent its enactment, or for the enactment of a favourable one. Examples of resounding successes in such organisation diplomacy abound in Nigeria:

i. the indigenization deadline was postponed for thirteen firms including well known names like the U.A.C., Knight, Frank and Rutley, West African Drug Company, Bata, Dunlop and Nigerian Bottling Company[14],

ii. motor firms have succeeded in persuading the Price Control Board to revise upwards the control prices of cars[15].

Such changes in the environment don't just happen when the manager is asleep. They are fought for, and they are the essence of management.

In citing these two examples of management effort by expatriate firms, the author would like to point to the difference between infringing a regulation which has been made and working for the modification of an unfavourable one. The former can in no circumstances be condoned and can be fatal to an organisation – the latter is what management is all about.

One major aspect of environment management is innovation. Organisations must find new ways of doing old things, and continually search for new things to do. The only alternative to innovation is stagnation and decline.

Change is therefore the *sine qua non* for organisation success. The equilibrium of an organisation is an equilibrium of change. It is a dynamic equilibrium, it might be kept going.

(d) Accelerating the growth rate of the Economy

Accelerating the growth rate of the Nigerian economy is both an end result and a role of management. If Nigerian managers effect a smooth change from an "outside directed" to an "inner directed" economy, if they maintain the steady growth and sound viability of their organisations, and if they successfully manage the environment and innovate, then the Gross National Product of Nigeria will rise very fast. The writer believes that just as the pay packet measures (although imperfectly) the output of the factory hand, the growth rate of the G.N.P. measures the output of a country's managers. For such a measure to be meaningful and indicative, it must be done sector by sector before the sectors are averaged to arrive at the acceptable growth rate; otherwise in a country like ours, the sound of the oil boom may drown the grumblings of some sectors (like agriculture) that could be dying of neglect.

---

[14] *West Africa*, April 1, 1974.
[15] *Daily Times*, July 11, 1974.

Conclusion

As J. J. Servan-Schreiber points out, the cause of the economic disparity between decadent Europe and opulent America is the "art of organisation – the mobilization of intelligence and talent to conquer not only invention but development, production and marketing[16]". His message seems to have penetrated deep for his book "has already had an extraordinary impact. In France, no book since the war, fiction or non-fiction sold so many copies in its first three months[17]".

Emphasis in the economic world has shifted through the ages from the individual craftsman, through the entrepreneuer, to the manager. He is regarded as the prime mover of industrial life. Of today's manager it is said that:

> "Rarely, if ever, has a new, basic institution, a new leading group, emerged as fast as has management since the turn of the century. Rarely in human history has a new institution proved indispensable so quickly, and even less often has a new institution arrived with so little opposition, so little disturbance, so little controversy[18]".

Those of us in the production side of the management industry are not pretending that we can turn teenagers into managers after a three-year chrysalis stage in one of our institutions. No, we cannot do this. However, we believe that there are some principles underlying management practice, that these principles can be taught, and that they can be learnt. We believe that Nigeria needs to invest heavily in training her managers because:

An individual manager
May be managing just a business
But a country's managers
Are, all together managing the nation.

---

[16]Servan Schreiber, J.J. *The American Challenge* (trans. Ronald Steel), Avon Books, New York, 1969 – Foreword.
[17]*Ibid.*
[18]Drucker, *The Practice of Management*, p. 3.

Local Government Reforms in the Western State of Nigeria: A Preliminary Assessment

By ADEOYE AKINSANYA

Dr. A. Akinsanya is Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Lagos, Nigeria.

Most readers will be familiar with the beginnings of local government in West Africa, in which Eastern and Western Nigeria were considered pioneers. Much has been written about the first twenty years.

Dr. Akinsanya takes up the story from 1973, *when the latest of the many attempts was made to construct a system which would reconcile the two elements that have so often proved irreconcilable in the past – local identity based on the historic ties of communities too small to be effective, and economic viability requiring units too large to have any sense of community.* (Ed.)

Briefly stated, the latest reforms included the introduction of a non-partisan Council-Manager system; the establishment of Management Committees to lay down policies for execution by the Council-Manager; the reduction of local government councils from 114 to 39 through mergers; and the creation of 335 Area Committees to involve people in government at the grass roots.

A quick glance at the reforms leads us to formulate a proposition – namely, that their successful implementation would not only foster the development of effective local political institutions, but would also enhance the provision of essential social services to the local communities. To what extent, though, are the intentions of the government reconcilable with the reforms introduced? Let us first examine the reforms relating to the introduction of the Council-Manager system, the establishment of Management Committees, and the merger of a large number of local government units. We will then look at the establishment of Management and Area Committees.

The Council-Manager System

In a Government White Paper published in 1971[1], the Western State Government argues that it is "fruitless and demoralising" to maintain the existing small and ineffective units, and then sets out the various criteria by which a workable compromise could be made between political participation or representation, and administrative efficiency. The day-to-day administration of the 39 new "local government administrations" is vested in the Chief Executive Officer, to be named Council-Manager, thanks to

[1]*Proposals for the Reorganisation of Local Government Councils.* Western State Official Document No. 4 of 1971 (Ibadan Government Printer, 1971).

Professor Samuel Humes, the former American Consultant on Local Government to the Institute of Administration, University of Ife[2]. The Council-Manager, as the Chief Executive Officer (CEO), will be head of council staff, and will be responsible to the Management Committee insofar as policy execution is concerned. He will, incidentally, earn as much as his counterpart in the Civil Service. But how is he to be appointed? Will he be appointed by the Management Committee, to which he is responsible on policy matters, or will he be appointed by the Government on the advice of the Local Government Service Board (LGSB), whose members are appointed by the Military Governor?

If the Council-Manager is appointed by the Management Committee, then we must naturally expect the Committee to have the right to "fire" him. But, given the situation in Nigeria, it is unlikely that the Committee will "hire" the Council-Manager, though it may have a say as to who should be posted to work in its area of jurisdiction. Thus, the Council-Manager is most likely to be appointed by the Government on the advice of the LGSB. This is the practice in the Civil Service, whereby the Permanent Secretary is appointed by the Military Governor on the advice of the Public Service Commission (PSC), and it has worked well during the civilian and military regimes. What will be, and indeed, what is of great concern to students of local politics, is the relationship between the Council-Manager and the Management Committee during the military interregnum and post-military regime.

Since members of the Committee are likely to be appointed rather than elected, because of our prevailing political circumstances, we can expect the roles of the Council-Manager and the Committee to be complementary. But if the Committee members are elected on a partisan basis, we can expect the relationship between the CEO and the Management Committee to be similar to that between the Permanent Secretary and his Minister during the former civilian regime – a relationship between a horse and its rider – with attendant consequences[3]. However, it is possible that both the Council-Manager and the Management Committee will be closely involved in policy initiation, since it is naive to think that policy formulation and execution will be separated into watertight compartments – namely, that politics is the province of statesmen and administration of technicians[4]. Indeed, the Council-Manager will not only be involved in the policy-making processes, he will have enough staff to help him initiate policies and carry out the decisions of the Management Committees with immediate despatch. Thus, it appears that the merger of local government councils and the introduction of the Council-Manager system would not only lead to the development of viable local government institutions, but also enhance the provision of modern amenities, as the larger units are expected to have a bigger tax base than the smaller units they have replaced.

---

[2]The Institute of Administration, University of Ife is primarily the Consultant to the Western State Government on administrative matters.

[3]Akinsaya, *op cit*, Chap. 7.

[4]W. Wilson, "The Study of Administration", *Political Science* Quarterly, 56 (December, 1941): 481-506.

However, because the ban on party politics is still in force in Nigeria, it is difficult to see how members of the Management Committee or the new "local government administrations" could be said to be truly representative of their local communities. In the absence of popular elections, we expect one of two things: first, the members are most likely to be appointed by the government. Though it may well be that their credentials will be properly screened, this is not the same thing as being directly elected by the free choice of the local community, especially when it is noted that effective popular rule has been abandoned ever since the military regime came to power. Second, because they are not elected by local communities, we have not only increased the bureaucratisation of the regime, but have also delayed development of political institutions[5].

Area Committees

We have seen how one formidable limitation to the achievement of the objectives of local government administration in Western Nigeria has been the multiplicity of small, autonomous and ineffective councils. For reasons of administrative convenience, the British forced a number of relatively small chiefdoms to accept the authority of larger chiefdoms to which they might never at any time in their history have been subordinate as a result of military defeat or other means. Unless the effect of this factor is seen in its proper perspective, we shall not understand the agitation for smaller, autonomous and, from a local government point of view, largely unviable local government units. What makes these local loyalties and sentiments so significant is the fact that traditional institutions are more important than the council, and unless this fact is recognised there are bound to be problems.

That the regional government has been dissatisfied with the local government structure developed since the Local Government Law of 1952, can be seen in its reform movement as early as 1959. In that year, the region's Head of Service (Chief Adebo), appointed a Working Party presided over by the Secretary to the Premier and Executive Council (Professor Biobaku) to examine and advise on certain aspects of the local government system, with a view to reforming it. By 1960, the Working Party produced an Interim Report[6] which formed the basis of the Cameron Report on Local Government Services[7]. One of the reasons given by these study groups for the gross inefficiency of councils was the trend towards fragmentation, whereas only larger councils could perform certain essential local government efficiently.

The Cameron proposals could not be implemented because of the political crisis in the region during the Spring of 1962, a crisis which culminated in the removal of the regional Government by the Federal Government, and the appointment of a Federal Administrator to carry out the affairs of the region

---

[5]See A. Akinsaya, "*The Military Regime, Top Bureaucrats and What Next?: The Nigerian Case*", presented at the 2nd Annual Conference of the Nigerian Political Science Association, Nsukka, March 25-27, 1974.

[6]S. O. Biobaku, *Interim Report of the Working Party on Local Services* (Ibadan: Government Printer, 1960).

[7]I. D. Cameron, *Report on Local Government Services* (Ibadan: Government Printer, 1961).

during the period of emergency[8]. Since 1962, the machinery for considering the necessary local government reforms has continued in operation, but it has remained the consistent view that the small councils are not only incapable of providing the services and amenities required by the people, but are also incapable of employing the well-qualified staff necessary if development programmes are to be formulated and executed. To be more precise – before the April, 1973 announcement[9] there were only 23 councils with an average annual revenue of N140,000 and above, while 80 per cent of the councils could be considered to be administratively and economically unviable.

The merger of local government councils is a bold political, and indeed, administrative action, one which in all probability could only have been taken by a military regime. To be sure, the local government councils which are being merged were creations of political expediency, and one of the latent consequences of creating so many unviable councils in the past has been their perpetual dependence on the regional government for subsidies to perform basic statutory functions. This financial dependence on the government has meant that such councils could be suspended from office by the government even though their offence might only be political. Thus, by merging smaller local government units into larger units, more finance can be made available.

Although it is accepted that the new local government units ought to be no smaller if they are to be efficient, they are still too large to give a sense of grass roots participation by the villagers, or the feeling at village level that the people are really being represented on their local authorities. Accordingly, small towns, villages and other local communities are to be constituted into Area Committees. The Area Committees, as the Commissioner for Local Government noted, have been established "to give the local people a greater interest and a more important role to play in the administration of their area than was possible in the previous local government councils." But these Area Committees could hardly be called a "second tier" of local government, as their function will only be to discuss, initiate, and make proposals to the councils of the new local government administration, just as the 1946 Richards Constitution was designed to give Nigerians an opportunity to "discuss" their problems[10]. An interesting but curious proposal, however, is that if a council is unable to support proposals submitted by an Area Committee, they must nevertheless be forwarded to officials in the Ministry of Local Government for their consideration. While it is obvious that the Area Committees do not have much power *vis-à-vis* the new local government administrations, they do wield some form of economic power which they could use to advantage.

One basic reason for creating Area Committees is to ensure that revenues collected from each locality are spent on the welfare of the inhabitants.

---

[8]Mackintosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 426-460.

[9]Plans for merging some local government councils in the Western Region in 1968 were opposed by the Western branch of the Nigerian Union of Local Authority Staff (NULAS), individuals and other organisations which sent petitions to the Ministry of Local Government.

[10]K. Ezera, *Constitutional Developments in Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962).

Indeed, it has always been a matter of controversy that taxes collected in one part of a division, State or even within the Nigerian Federation, should be spent for the benefit of another part – namely, that revenues collected from the districts were used to develop the divisional and provincial headquarters. The provision that 40 per cent of the funds raised within an area must now be spent within that locality represents a compromise between two principles of revenue allocation – principles of 'derivation' and 'need'. In spite of the relative ineffectiveness of the Area Committees, their creation will not only bring the government nearer to the people it is supposed to serve – through what may be described as a token form of democracy – it will also try to redress the disparities between the urban and rural areas. Of particular importance in the reform measures is the place of the traditional rulers. Rather than make a total break with tradition, the importance of traditional rulers in the new local government administration is recognised. Obas and Chiefs will be members of Area Committees, and will constitute the Chieftancy Committees at this level for implementing their functions under the State's Chiefs Law. Indeed, the place given to the traditional élite in the new scheme is a reflection of the government's faith in preserving time-honoured traditional institutions. The Commissioner for Local Government himself assured the Obas during his meet-the-people tour that "I would be the last to advocate scrapping our traditions".

Conclusion

To sum up, it would appear that a successful implementation of the local government reforms, especially when in due course politicians are allowed to return to the scene, would not only lead to a healthy development of viable local political institutions, but also pave the way for efficiency in local government administration. With the reforms being "faithfully executed", it would appear that a new era in local government administration has dawned in Western Nigeria. The Council-Manager system, in the light of the history of local government in the Western Region, gives great promise of achieving the objectives local government exists to serve. But the Managers must be given powers commensurate with their responsibilities, and their retention and promotion (or demotion) should be based strictly on their performance rather than the flux and reflux of politics. If the proposed measures are successfully and "faithfully executed", an effective link will be forged between the 'governor' and the 'governed'. It may be that the Western State is well on the way to becoming yet another model in local government administration to be copied and adopted by other States in the Nigerian Federation[11].

[11]Western Nigeria, in many respects, was a model for institution building for many independent Anglophone African states in the fifties and early sixties.

Quarterly Notes

COMMONWEALTH – *Human Ecology Conference*

The Commonwealth South Pacific Regional Conference on Human Settlements was held at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, from 16th to 21st November, 1975. It was the third in a series on the theme of Development and Human Ecology initiated by the Commonwealth Human Ecology Council (CHEC), and sponsored jointly by the University of Auckland, the Auckland City Council, the Auckland Regional Authority and CHEC.

Human Ecology is the study of the interaction of Man and human society with the environment. It is concerned with the philosophy and quality of life in relation to the development of biological and geological resources, of rural and urban settlements, of industry and technology, and of economics, education and culture. It is a means whereby change can be effected and human needs satisfied, without jeopardising either the future or the rich variety of life which has evolved during the world's history.

CHEC's aim is to see that fundamental ecological principles become an essential part of positive human action, ranging from national development planning down to everyday human activities.

The two earlier CHEC conferences which took place in Malta (1970) and Hong Kong (1972) formed the basis for national case studies. The purpose of the Auckland Conference was to focus attention on human settlement problems in the South Pacific region and in the developing countries of the Commonwealth, in the context of preparations currently being made for HABITAT, the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in Vancouver Canada in June, 1976.

Conference members, the majority from New Zealand, came from thirteen Commonwealth countries, mostly from the developing world, as well as representatives from the Canadian Secretariat for HABITAT, the UN Centre for Housing, Building and Planning, the UN Human Settlements Foundation, WHO and the South Pacific Commission.

The Conference took the form of general meetings on topics of common interest, and parallel meetings to discuss:

(a) a specific case study based on the experience of Auckland as a multi-cultural human settlement, as a regional pole in the South Pacific area, and as the major growth region in New Zealand;

(b) the general experience of human settlement problems in papers from representatives of Commonwealth and international departments and organisations.

The shared experience of problems and their solution led to the definition of significant areas of concern in human settlements, and principles upon

which action should be based. A report of the Auckland CHEC Conference and its recommendations have been forwarded to the UN HABITAT Secretariat as a contribution to the Vancouver Human Settlements Conference.

The Commonwealth, as a continuously interacting family of nations and a representative cross section of the world community, is particularly well placed both to contribute to and to profit from the UN HABITAT Conference, and to help ensure that the principles for action emerging from HABITAT may influence policies and action concerning human settlements in many different political and social settings throughout the world.

Specially contributed

TEHRAN – *IULA Congress*

Urbanisation was the main theme of the International Union of Local Authorities' 22nd World Congress, held in Tehran in April, 1975.

At the Plenary Session on the last afternoon of the Congress, a Final Resolution was adopted which, among other things, *drew attention* to the crisis situation threatening many towns and cities faced with problems of unemployment, pollution, slums, squatter settlements, inadequate transport systems and crime; *expressed the opinion* that there should be a world-wide commitment supported by all people, their local authorities and national governments, for the implementation of basic standards for all human settlements, making them into places of human dignity and well-being; *welcomed* HABITAT, the UN Conference on Human Settlements, as a unique opportunity for focusing world attention on their problems, and giving an impetus to concerted action for their solution.

The Resolution also called upon national governments *to initiate* the adoption of national urban policies to bring about a better distribution of population and economic activities *to strengthen* the powers and resources of local governments, so that they might become more equal partners in the development process; *to encourage* the participation of citizens through their local authorities in the making and implementation of decisions affecting their environment.

Finally, the Resolution *urged* governments of developing countries to stem the tide of migration to urban areas by raising the quality of life in rural areas; *recommended* the governments of developing countries to establish reception centres where new migrants could be helped to adjust to the urban environment, and also to provide well-serviced sites on which self-help housing could be constructed; *advocated* that the governments of developing countries give urgent attention to the rehabilitation of deteriorated city centres, and to halting increased suburbanization which is wasteful of land and energy resources; and *expressed conviction* of the need for an increased exchange of knowledge concerning practical local government matters, and of the wisdom of creating in Iran a centre of documentation and information on municipal technology in the widest sense of the word.

The Congress ended with an appeal to local governments everywhere to work towards the creation of a feeling of community based on respect for individual human beings.

Source: IULA Reports

THAILAND – *National Lottery for municipal purposes*

Of all the projects that one might imagine being financed from the proceeds of a lottery, a sewage works is surely one of the last that would spring to mind.

Nevertheless, in Bangkok, a firm has just finished constructing the first municipal sewage treatment works in Thailand, the cost of which has been met in just that way.

Bangkok, a modern city of some five million people, has virtually no modern drainage systems. Foul effluence in that virtually flat city is dealt with in septic tanks and soakaways, while the mixture of river water and septic sewage which tends to flood the city in the rainy season is discharged eventually into the nearest branch of an extensive canal system.

Although a master plan for the effective drainage of the city was drawn up some years ago by American consultants, little action followed until 1972, when the National Housing Authority decided to undertake a rehousing development in the Huay Kwang district with proceeds from the state lottery. Naturally enough, the residents of the housing estate were far from happy at the idea of the sewage works being included in the development, until they were shown around the plant, and were able to test for themselves the claim that it is odour-free.

Moral arguments apart, the advantage of financing municipal projects in this way is that everybody gets a prize in the form of some much-needed development or facility. The Sydney Opera House, possibly the best, and certainly the most glamorous example of lottery-financed municipal enterprise, could be said to represent the other end of a huge range of projects that communities everywhere could provide themselves with if they were prepared to use the gambling instincts of their citizens in this particular way.

Source: Municipal Engineering – 8 August, 1975

BRITAIN – *Conference on Human Rights in the Commonwealth*

A very successful conference on Human Rights in the Commonwealth was held under the auspices of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, during the week-end of 18th to 20th April, 1975.

The conference was opened on Friday, 18th April, by the Rt. Hon. Lord Denning, Master of the Rolls and Chairman of the Council of Management of the British Institute, who gave an introductory address. This was followed by a session at which a paper was read by Sir Kenneth Roberts-Wray, Q.C., former Legal Adviser to the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Colonial Office, on Human Rights in the Commonwealth. The Chairman was Lord Denning.

Proceedings on the second day began with a session at which a paper was read by Dr. Lateef O. Adegbite, Attorney-General and Commissioner for Justice of the Western State of Nigeria on "The Courts and the Protection of Human Rights in Nigeria", and at which the Chairman was the Hon. Mr. Justice Adenekan Ademola of the High Court of Justice, Western State of Nigeria. Next came a paper read by Professor J. S. Read of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London on "Human Rights in East and Central Africa and the Caribbean", the Chairman being Sir Kenneth Roberts-Wray.

In the afternoon Mr. D. A. Kamat, Legal Adviser to the High Commission of India in the United Kingdom, read a paper on "Reflections on the Human Rights provisions of the Indian Constitution". The Chairman at this session was Sir William Dale, former Legal Adviser to the Commonwealth Relations Office.

In the evening a paper was read by Sir William Dale on "The Protection of Human Rights in the United Kingdom", the Chairman being Professor W. S. Tarnopolsky of Osgoode Hall Law School, York University, Ontario, Canada.

On the last day, Professor W. S. Tarnopolsky read a paper on the Canadian Bill of Rights. The Chairman was the Rt. Hon. Lord Cross, a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary and Chairman of the Comparative Law Section of the British Institute.

Among those present, in addition to those specifically mentioned above, were Mr. D. W. Sagar, Special Adviser (Legal) Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation, Mr. Y. O. Adio, Legal Draftsman, Ministry of Justice, Western State of Nigeria, Mr. Carlton Stoiber, former Director of the Office of Indian Rights in the U.S. Department of Justice, Mr. D. Hallmark, Legal Practition.er, Mr H. M. Marshall, Q.C., Deputy Director of the British Institute and Mrs. A. Sarup, Research Officer of the British Institute. There were present altogether twenty senior guests and thirty-nine students of whom four each were from Canada and Malaysia, three from Rhodesia, two from Australia, Barbados, Ghana, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Nigeria, Singapore, Sri Lanka (Ceylon), Swaziland, United Kingdom and Zambia, and one each from Bangladesh, Hong Kong, Trinidad and West Germany.

It was a great pleasure to the Institute to welcome to the conference Lady Denning, Lady Cross, Lady Roberts-Wray, Lady Dale and Mrs. Read. Their presence greatly added to the social atmosphere and the enjoyment of the occasion.

AFRICA – *A New Journal*

We welcome a new contemporary, AFRICA – International Perspective, The African Review of International Affairs, which is published by the Africa Publishing House, Monrovia. The first Number includes a challenging article by the Director-General of UNESCO in which Mr. M'Bow criticises the group of 25 experts who have recently proposed a major reform of the UN structure, for their failure to consult with the specialised Agencies.

Book Reviews

Education, Manpower, and Development in South and South East Asia, by MUHAMMAD SHAMSUL HUQ. *Preager Publishers,* 1975, distributed in the U.K. by Pall Mall Press £7.25.

Many teachers and students who have used Muhammad Shamsul Huq's "Education and Development Strategy in South and South East Asia", since 1965, will welcome this sequel published a decade later. The earlier work provided a useful compendium of facts and figures drawn from development plans in Pakistan, India, Indonesia and the Phillipines, with reference also to other countries in the region and to the regional targets set in the Karachi Plan. The country studies were preceded by a brief introduction to the continent and analyses of development, the economics of education and planning strategies.

For the present reviewer much of the interest of the new book is to see how perspectives and content have changed. Gone is the quantitative optimism of Karachi with its multiplication of facilities for formal schooling. The figures of population, enrolments and educational finance are of course, up-dated, and they are presented more often in comparative form rather than in the encyclopaedic form of the earlier country studies. For this sequel does not simply repeat the collection of data and review of techniques which comprised its predecessor; it has a more explicit message.

World crisis in education and the revolutionary events leading to the birth of Bangladesh, the sharpening conflict between economic growth and social justice built into development strategies aimed primarily at increasing gross national product; each of these has made its impact on the author and his book. The new message is summarised in this paragraph:

> It is imperative for each developing country to elect a design of growth and a life style for its own social and economic development, according to its own values and resources. By the same token, the design of its educational system will also have to be consistent with its goals and values, along paths to be charted according to its needs and resources. *The most pervasive goal to inspire both designs, according to the analysis in this study, should be the development and utilisation of human resources.* The degree of success in achieving this goal will be the primary measure of the effectiveness of the plan-strategy in both development and education.

This emphasis is reflected in the addition of "manpower" to the title and the re-naming of a chapter on "the economic value of education" which (while drawing largely on the same research material) becomes "human capital and education". Throughout the book the author finds himself re-working his material to place the development of human resources not as the means to another economic end, but as the goal of development itself in the utilisation and realisation of human potential.

The argument is important for developed and developing countries alike, but are the familiar tools of analysis adequate to serve the new task? This is the crucial question which the reader expects to see answered in the final Chapter: "Some plan-strategies for educational development; a conceptual framework". When he reads that with regard to institutional changes at the local level, "the representatives of the governments will have to shed the robes of authority and don those of friends and advisers" he may wonder if political factors and realities, acknowledged to be so important in the decision-making process of planning (but considered under the dynamics of development in only one paragraph) have been adequately appraised.

A vision is attractively presented of an education system with a broad, flexible, multi-dimensional structure, linking formal and non formal education, work and study, and with access to "recurrent" education through part-time courses and an "open university". This is apparently only the first step in the direction of the needed change, but how to reach this state from the reality whose dimensions have been described in the tables of data is not explained. There are valuable suggestions in the areas of science education and technical-vocational education, but as the writer acknowledges in a later section, "reform of the examinations is a prerequisite for the success of other educational reforms, and also for ending the baneful effects of an examination system that has proved to be a source of fear, friction and frustration". In the stifling effect of examinations he identifies a crucial problem recognised by increasing numbers of educationists in the developing countries of the Commonwealth, but the circularity of his argument moves us no further to a solution. It is not only, or even primarily, a technical problem. In so far as examinations legitimate the privileges of an established elite, which may include officials in the education ministry itself, the problem has a firmly political character and vitiates educational reforms in other directions. It seems that Huq is really arguing for the reform of man.

In his strategy of strategies the first two steps are:

(i) "a firm and unequivocal commitment of the political leadership to a goal of social justice and an equitable distribution of the benefits of development; and

(ii) consciously opting for a style of life consistent with social realities and values which may mean for many countries an austere level of consumption, but which may yet be rich in its intellectual and cultural context".

Under what conditions is the second acceptable consolation, and what countervailing strategies are needed if the first is to succeed against the opposition of vested interests in Britain or Bangladesh?

Since writing this book which he stresses "is purely an academic exercise" Muhammad Shamsul Huq has returned from America to Bangladesh to grapple with the task of turning vision into reality. The future of millions of children rests on his success and that of his fellow educationists and administrators. It seems an inadequate conclusion to wish them well and to hope that we shall not have to wait a further ten years for another sequel which will show from experience how the goals described here can be achieved. There is so much at stake.

GEOFFREY SMITH

The Economic Development of the Third World since 1900, by PAUL BAIROCH (translated by LADY CYNTHIA POSTAN); *Methuen & Co. Ltd. London,* 1975; pp. xii, 260; £2.45.

This book is the English version of the latest (fourth) French edition of what has become a staple item in the development literature, first published in 1967. This English version has been further expanded and revised by the addition of two new chapters, on Urbanisation and Employment respectively. Also, the figures have been revised and updated, and the statistical tables expanded. Hence, even those with access to the original French version will in future wish to use this English text.

Professor Bairoch can best be described as the French counterpart to Colin Clark. Like Colin Clark, he is a bold quantifier, has a sense of history and a knack of illustrating Third World problems by comparison with the industrial world; also like Colin Clark, he has a special interest in China. The book is well described as a 'quantitative economic history of the Third World'.

There are some inevitable drawbacks to the method: Quite often one would want to know more about the quality of the underlying statistics. The comparisons with industrial countries during their take-off period are often interesting and refreshing, but also sometimes far-fetched or even misleading. Professor Bairoch is almost certainly right when – in agreement with Kuznets – he scales down the somewhat optimistic UN figures of GNP *per capita* growth of developing countries in the fifties and sixties. His scaled-down version makes these growth rates similar to those of the present developed countries during the earlier industrial revolution, but lower than those of such latecomers as Japan, Canada or Russia. More generally, there is a somewhat optimistic flavour about this quantitative history: Professor Bairoch emphasises the failure of an agricultural revolution to precede the industrial take-off. According to him, agricultural productivity per person has fallen by some 20 per cent since 1900; in explaining this failure he seems to attach too much weight to the Malthusian laws of diminishing return, and not enough to unfavourable agricultural structures and irrational and unequal distribution of access to land and other inputs. Also, in dealing with hunger and other problems he attributes too much importance to production – a natural bias for quantifiers – and not enough to questions of income distribution and inequalities.

His pessimistic flavour is in some sense further underlined by his finding that contrary to prevailing beliefs the terms of trade of LDCs have shown a tendency to improvement rather than deterioration. This is a particularly interesting part of the book although not fully convincing. To some extent, pessimism is built into the analysis by the basis assumption of an overall capital output ratio in LDCs as high as 4.5:1, as compared with ratios of 3:1 often assumed elsewhere.

The book is of course written pre-OPEC price increases. A hastily added postscript in the light of these price increases looks distinctly scrappy.

The general conclusion is that the developing countries would require ten times as much aid as the true aid which they are now receiving. By the way,

the present UN target for aid is 0.7 per cent of GNP, not 1 per cent as stated. However, this may be partly a matter of translation as between 'aid' and capital flows. The translation is by Lady Cynthia Postan. It is adequate although one is often conscious of reading a translation rather than an original.

H. W. SINGER

Sharing in development: a programme of employment, equity and growth for the Phillipines. *International Labour Office. Geneva*, 1974, pp. XXVII + 685; Swiss Frs. 36.

This is the fifth I.L.O. Mission country report on employment problems in the developing countries, following those on Columbia (1970), Ceylon (1971), Kenya (1972) and Iran (1973). These have succeeded the World Bank country reports of the late 1950's and early 1960's and far from focusing narrowly on the unemployment problem of the countries visited constitute quite wide-ranging economic analyses of the economies with perhaps more comprehensive or fundamental development policy recommendations than carried by the older studies. The highly-experienced team employed in this case included Gustav Ranis as the Chief of Mission, A. Berry, Blaug, Fei, Leiserson, Lovdahl, Mangahas, Power, Richards (of ARTEP), M.Fg. Scott, and Thorbecke, supported by the usual long list of part-time consultants. The team has been able to produce in addition to the substantive report of 386 pages, an additional 20 papers covering another 300 pages and a wide range of specific topics, dealt with more systematically and usefully, perhaps, than in some of the preceding reports. Readers will find these a mine of information, useful calculations, and pieces of analysis.

The analysis starts by finding that with import-substituting industrialisation having substantially exhausted itself, further industrial development is limited by lack of purchasing power in the large agricultural sector. At the same time the failure of agricultural incomes and opportunities to expand fast enough has caused premature rural-urban migration and, with slowing industrial expansion, a growing problem of unemployment. Thus, as the other I.L.O. Missions have concluded, the problem of unemployment in the less developed economies is only one aspect of the general growth problems of such countries, and cannot be separated from that of low incomes.

There then follows, as a solution, a new two-pronged development strategy based on the need "to change the nature of the growth path," centred on the two major elements of the 'current wisdom' in development economies, rural mobilisation, on the one hand, and an outward-looking industrial development policy (involving a number of trade liberalisation measures) on the other, these supported by the encouragement of small- and medium-scale industry, adoption of appropriate technologies, and removal of biases towards capital-intensity in order to expand employment. Thus far there is a great deal of similarity with, in particular, the Kenya I.L.O. Mission Report. Like the Kenya Report, this one may be somewhat optimistic about the prospects for small-scale industry and in particular about an interesting variation of the balanced growth thesis based on mutual support *within the*

rural sector between agriculture and *rural* industry, described (p. 29) as "a mushrooming exchange of food grains, vegetables and poultry, on the one side, and pumps, implements, shoes and shirts on the other, with the simultaneous generation of incomes and reciprocal markets".

What is missing from the other reports is the distinctive mechanism which might have generated this parallel expansion, the interdependence between income redistribution and the structure of demand: a redistribution of income producing increased demand for basic and non-luxury consumption goods including foodstuffs, and this demand in turn creating further incomes for small farmers and lower-income groups. Indeed, despite the title, 'Sharing in Development,' there can be discerned a distinct de-emphasis of the equity and income distribution issue represented in, for instance, the 'redistribution from growth' model underlying the Kenya Report (which model has itself been criticized as dealing inadequately with the distribution question).

Although it is mentioned (p. 365) that the degree of inequality is 'one of the most severe in the world' the report hesitates to push for strong action to deal with it. The most positive specific measures recommended are probably in the area of regional allocation of infrastructural investment and regional industry location policy. Recommendations regarding the land reform are on the cautious side. Cautiously, also, it is stated (p. 370) that one should not expect the problem of unequal distribution 'to be solved by a "direct route," i.e. by redistribution through the budget, wage legislation or asset redistribution'. Similarly it is stated with some apparent inconsistency that "we must be quick to emphasise the difficulties facing an effective poverty redressal programme. Any massive effort is bound to be beyond the capability of the economy at present (p. 376); whereas "the average income of the bottom 20 per cent of families is only about one-tenth that of the top 10 per cent", and a relatively small addition to taxes at the top could double the real incomes of, say, the bottom 10 per cent (p. 375).

The main route to a more equitable distribution of income which is recommended is that through the generation of employment as a result of broad participation in rural mobilisation and the expansion of small and medium-scale industries, particularly in the regions which have been left behind. Despite the 'patience' urged by the Mission this could prove a slower route than they would like, in a situation where regional and class income differentials have a natural tendency to widen.

Finally we may note a second, related feature of the report, which is strong affirmation of a faith in the price mechanism as the main instrument in development. The basic reforms recommended in respect of credit (realistic rates of interest and more lending to small and medium enterprises) and import liberalisation measures are in fact described as "methods of perfecting markets". Thus it is stated that ". . . a large role must continue to be assigned to the private sector and to the market system. Direct controls ostensibly established to help the poor are much more likely to have the opposite effect . . ." We foresee a society in which profit making is not outlawed or discouraged . . .

. . . The strategy outlined in this report . . . will also entail great selectivity as to what the Government does."

and finally, bringing together income distribution and the market mechanism directly,

"we are confident that an income distribution that is determined by equal access to markets is better than one that results from the kind of interventions and imperfections which have existed in the Phillipines in the past" (p. 367).

It is not possible, however, in a short space, to do justice to such a comprehensive report which remains a thoroughly professional piece of work of which, one hopes, the government of the Phillipines will take the maximum notice.

IAN LIVINGSTONE

Aid and Dependence, by KATHRYN MORTON; *Croom Helm*; index; pp. 189; £6.95.

Before Mr. R. A. Butler, Minister responsible for Central African Affairs, advised the British Government to grant independence to Nyasaland and its secession from the Central African Federation in 1963 he convened a committee of economists under the chairmanship of Sir Roger Stevens to speculate upon the country's future ability to support itself on its own.

In 1953, before the establishment of the Federation, Nyasaland was financially viable at a very low level of development having moved from a long period of "grant-in-aid" as a Protectorate under the British Government. During the existence of the Federation, Nyasaland derived from the wealth of Northern Rhodesia through the Federal Government a considerable increase of income enabling it to finance projects and services far beyond its ability to afford from its own resources.

Sir Roger and his Committee were given the difficult task of studying the financial and economic prospects of the country for the future having first ascertained the probable extent of its insolvency on becoming independent after leaving the Federation. The result of this exercise was daunting for the British Government since it disclosed that Nyasaland's probable deficit on recurrent account alone would be well over 50 per cent of its turnover for the first year of independence.

Fortunately for Dr. Banda and Nyasaland, the Committee, strongly supported by the Governor of the day and his financial and economic advisers, took a bravely optimistic view of the country's future: and they advised Mr. Butler that if the independent Malawi Government could see its way to increasing the level of taxation, to reducing or containing the cost of its public services, and above all, to increasing the exportable agricultural surplus of the country, there would be a reasonable chance of financial viability within ten to fifteen years. Such a forecast postulated important conditions such as the maintaining of law and order and political stability; the obtaining of weather conditions suitable for the growing of crops such

as tea, tobacco and groundnuts; and, most important of all, perhaps, the determination of the people to trust their chosen leader, Dr. Hastings Banda, and submit to the grim regimen of austerity which he had already prescribed as the only means for achieving financial viability and a level of economic progress without which political independence would be of little value.

One can imagine the dilemma of the British Government in 1962 and 1963 faced with the possibility – if things went wrong – of having to contribute relatively large sums of money for many years not only to provide funds for basic development, but also to finance the annual recurrent expenditure. It was this latter element that was obnoxious to a Government that had always striven to obliterate "grants-in-aid"; on the other hand to launch Malawi into the troubled sea of independence in a state of serious insolvency was unthinkable. The only alternative to the granting of independence was to retain Nyasaland as a dependency possibly within the Central African Federation. The cost of such a policy in terms of maintaining law and order among a totally hostile population could have been far greater than the cost of subsidising Malawi during its first years of independence.

In the event the policy of granting Nyasaland the right to secede from the Federation and to become politically independent from Britain was adopted and the new State of Malawi began to administer itself, needing many millions of pounds of aid from external sources.

Miss Morton's book describes in considerable detail the administration of Britain's aid programme to Malawi from 1964 onwards. Having served in Malawi herself under the ODI Scheme she had a unique opportunity of studying the manner in which the local government dealt with British grants and loans; and she seems to have been provided by the British Government with all the facts needed to enable her to produce a workmanlike presentation of her subject. For the economist and the statistician Miss Morton has provided a wealth of statistical tables which illustrate her theme clearly. For the historian and general reader she has written a book of great interest in a lucid and most readable prose style. The practical difficulties implicit in the execution of a relatively large aid programme in a newly-independent country by the old Colonial power are clearly stated and she has described in forthright terms Britain's honest endeavour to avoid interference in Malawi's affairs while at the same time seeking to ensure that no funds were used on objects repugnant to British policies. Dr. Banda's sensitivity in these matters is described as well as Malawi's and Britain's failure to reach agreement on controversial subjects such as the Nacala rail link and the new capital at Lilongue.

For the British reader there will be satisfaction that his Government's generosity has on the whole been used with honesty and propriety and has moreover had the desired effect of giving the recipient sufficient time to recover from insolvency and reach the goal of finiancial viability (in the sphere of recurrent expenditure) in well under the ten years envisaged. Miss Morton clearly foresees Malawi's continuing need for external aid but this will be in the development sphere; the country's ability to balance its recurrent budget will give its people an added self-respect and will certainly not discourage future potential donors of aid.

For the Malawi reader the book describes a vital part of the country's history where the people had to accustom themselves to a hard discipline in order to reap the fruits of independence. "Money does not drop down from heaven like Manna", Dr. Banda continually tells his people "It has to be won by the sweat of our brows". But in the case of Malawi there had to be manna as well as sweat and Miss Morton has most agreeably described the efficacy of the amalgam.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is that containing the conclusions beginning on p. 164 in which Miss Morton deals with the underlying principles of British aid to Malawi and with the criticisms of such aid and indeed of aid to less developed countries in general. Her arguments are logical and her conclusions not easily assailable. "The terms and conditions of British aid reflect the concern for Malawi's development which underlies Britain's aid programme to the country. This concern had its basis in Britain's sense of moral obligation towards Malawi as an ex-colony whose weak position at independence owed much to past neglect and Britain's misguided policy on federation" (p. 171). It would be difficult to refute the logic of this bold statement of British concern in Malawi's financial affairs.

GLYNN JONES

The Kingdom of Toro in Uganda, by KENNETH INGHAM; Studies in African History, 10; *Methuen, London,* 1975; pp. 186; £4.00 (Paperback Edition, £2.50).

Toro was one of the four traditional kingdoms of western Uganda, all of which were abolished by the country's first independent government when the new nation became a republic in 1967. The passing of these picturesque and supposedly ancient monarchies, with dynastic histories represented as stretching back into antiquity, was regretted by many besides their rulers – and no doubt the majority of their subjects. But whatever may be said of the other three kingdoms (and a great deal may be and has been), the kingdom of Toro was in fact neither traditional nor particularly ancient. It only began in the early nineteenth century as a rebellious province of the genuinely ancient kingdom of Bunyoro, which was at that time being severely pressed by the rising power of neighbouring Buganda. Later in the century it was totally crushed by the armies of the Nyoro king Kabarega, in a last fling before his own country was overrun by the Baganda and the British combined. And in the 1890s it was resuscitated by British colonialism in the person of Captain F. D. Lugard, who was at that time representing the Imperial British East Africa Company. He installed at the head of the revived "kingdom" a young man called Kasagama, a grandson of the first rebel prince Kaboyo, initially rather as a suitable local agent for the Company than as a king. But the young ruler played his cards well, and his own abilities, combined with a variety of other factors, ably analysed by Professor Ingham, led to the new kingdom's acquisition, with remarkable rapidity, of what the author aptly describes as "the sanctity of pseudo-antiquity". It retained and even increased this largely bogus quality until the end.

This, when it came, was due to factors outside Toro's control. Kasagama and his son and successor George Rukidi, of whose abilities and character Professor Ingham speaks highly, had continued under the benign colonialism of the first half of the present century to build up their royal authority and the kingship itself. But after Independence the picture changed rapidly. Premier Obote's confrontation with Buganda, exacerbated by the dispute over Bunyoro's "Lost Counties" but inevitable anyway, could have only one result. Buganda was destroyed, and the other three kingdoms fell with it.

In his clearly written account Professor Ingham unravels with sympathy and skill the various strands which make up the fabric of Toro's brief but complex and eventful history. He rightly pays special attention to the role played by the Anglican (C.M.S.) missionaries, here as in the other kingdoms a major power behind the throne. Toro is not the only "traditional" African state which owed its survival, perhaps even its existence, to the intervention of British colonialism and its policy of Indirect Rule. But Professor Ingham's scholarly and readable study has made it one of the best documented.

JOHN BEATTIE

Contention and Dispute: Aspects of Law and Social Control in Melanesia, edited by A. L. EPSTEIN, *Australian National University Press*, 1974; pp. 354, figures, index; $A11.95; **Irian Jaya: The Transformation of a Melanesian Economy,** by ROSS GARNAUT and CHRIS MANNING, *Australian National University Press*, 1974; pp. xi + 116, endpaper maps, tables index; $A8.95.

In rather different ways, both of these books are breaking new ground. Irian Jaya (formerly West Irian) has long been neglected by social scientists and thus Garnaut and Manning, in order to give an adequate coverage of the economy have been obliged to discuss political and other related developments in rather more detail than is usual in such studies. Papua New Guinea, on the other hand, has been the subject of an ever increasing number of investigations by social scientists and yet traditional law – the concern of Epstein's symposium – has been almost completely ignored.

In Africa and, indeed, in a number of Pacific dependencies, various local authorities and courts were given the task of hearing disputes under 'native Law' and this policy encouraged studies by missionaries, administrative officers and anthropologists early in the colonial period. In Papua and New Guinea the Australian administration took some account of customary values but did not, until the 1960s, make any attempt to establish a court system based on indigenous law and magistrates. Another reason for this scholarly neglect can be found in the difficulties of elucidating a set of common principles or norms – however generalised – because of the wide diversity of socio-political organisations to be found in Melanesia. Further, while disputes in any given community might be settled within a generally accepted set of values, it must also be remembered, as Andrew Strathern points out, that 'the outcome of a dispute depends on the relationships between the disputing parties' (p. 240).

Thus the contributions to this volume have presented a series of community studies which provide fascinating reading. They discuss various frameworks for the settlement of disputes; demonstrate the ways in which *kiaps*, and the colonial presence generally, have influenced and yet also been used by the New Guineans in matters of local concern; and highlight the importance of sorcery both as a cause of disputes and as a means of settling them.

The symposium had its origin in the concern of jurists and anthropologists that, with the prospect of independence in Papua New Guinea there was a need to 'lay the foundations for a legal system that would be viable and meet the needs of a people feeling their way towards new nationhood'. (p. 1). *Contention and Dispute* is a useful addition to the data on indigenous legal systems but its usefulness for the evolution of a system of village courts is, perhaps, questionable. Any attempt to codify indigenous law in Papua New Guinea, even in the broadest terms, is, as the editor points out, fraught with practical dangers and difficulties. But the alternative that would, perhaps, be most acceptable to local communities – power to settle all disputes 'according to custom' – will, as demonstrated by tribal fighting over land, almost certainly prove to be unacceptable to the national government. Thus the probable outcome, a half-way house with limited jurisdiction over local affairs, is unlikely to satisfy many, if any, or the parties concerned.

Irian Jaya is an unpretentious book. The authors indicate, but do not apologise for their limited field research, their dependence on secondary sources for some material, and their possibly unreliable statistics based on even less reliable official data. They present, in a concise and coherent manner, a rounded account of the development of Irian Jaya's economy from pre-Dutch to modern times. Moreover, they have been able to include useful material on Irian Jaya's relationships with and within Indonesia and also a chapter comparing Irian Jaya with Papua New Guinea. It is a most illuminating comparision; after all, the areas share similar geographica. and cultural environments and resources and yet, in the light of their respective 'colonial' experiences, their patterns of economic development have differed markedly. It is partly on the basis of this comparison that the authors discuss the policy alternatives open for the future.

This book represents a welcome attempt to bring Irian Jaya back with the orbit of Melanesia studies and of social scientists in general; the authors have succeeded well in their chosen purpose of presenting an introductory statement on a little known area that borders both South East Asia and Melanesia.

BARRIE MACDONALD

People Populating, by DEREK LLEWELLYN-JONES; *Faber & Faber*, pp. 368; £3.95.

Any attempt to trace the history of man's domination of the forces of nature, its effects and possible consequences for the future is vulnerable to the charge of being selective, superficial or biased. Professor Llewellyn-Jones recognises this and has succeeded in presenting a balanced exposition which

is both interesting and instructive. He has brought together and presented in readable style the arguments deployed by pessimists and optimists and postulated that the truth probably lies somewhere in between. The book is concerned basically with sexuality, procreation and survival and the author has dealt with the sensitive and emotional aspects of these subjects simply and deftly. His own predilection towards qualified sober optimism is apparent despite his disclaimer. This is matched by a sense of idealism which at times approaches unrealism. In a reference to the need to bring into global balance a stable population with carefully directed capital investment in order to control the consumption of non-renewable resources and to limit the pollution of the environment, the author acknowledges that a precondition would be a change of attitude, greater concern for the poor and more equitable distribution of wealth. He then adds: "The greatest hindrance to this solution is the rapid rate of population growth." Others might argue that human nature with its deep-rooted instinct for self preservation has been the motivating force which has brought man to his present situation, and is itself ironically a greater barrier and as such a major threat to mankind.

The brief description of the origin of man and of the factors which contributed to his prolific growth will be of interest to students and to anyone seeking a better understanding of the population situation. The layman's guide to population dynamics and the basics of demography will be particularly useful to those wishing to pursue the matter further. This is followed by an anecdote of which a number are interspersed throughout the book, which successfully bridges the gap between the impersonal study of statistics and the human realities of everyday life.

The relationship between population and food is graphically explained in a chapter entitled "The Hungry World". This is followed by a discourse on the ecological balance, a rather disheartening account of the ravages of man and his urge to satiate his appetite for food power and wealth.

It is against this background that the real substance of the book is considered. This is the impact of development on mortality and the awakening of the desire of people to control the size of their families. By mid-19th Century, social attitudes particularly in England and the united States were becoming more receptive to the idea of deliberate family limitation. The account of the trials and tribulations of the pioneers of those days makes absorbing reading and the gradual development of organisations dedicated to the spread of knowledge and means for family planning is of relevance to what is happening in many countries today.

The chapter on abortion is a reasoned case for the liberalisation of the laws governing medical termination and for the extension of suitable services to all communities.

For anyone interested in the subject of population this book will make not only interesting reading but will also be a useful reference guide to authoritative works and studies relating to various aspects of population.

The author concludes "... mankind's survival depends on a rational approach to population control. But with good sense, and a bit of luck, we who live on this small planet will survive. If we act now. The choice lies in our hands".

A. D. COOPER

Politics Public Enterprise and the Industrial Development Agency: industrialisation policies and practices, by N. S. CAREY-JONES, S. M. PATANKER, M. J. BOODHOO; *Croom Helm, London,* 1974; pp. 248, index; £6.50.

Probably no other category of institutions has enjoyed such widespread and overwhelming appeal in developing countries in recent years as those somewhat vaguely summarised under the heading public enterprise. Theoretical advantages – varying measures of ownership and policy control by the state combined with differing degrees of autonomy in day to day management, insulation from political pressures, dynamic action in pursuit of carefully defined objectives – present a compelling contrast to red tape bound, colonially conditioned traditional bureaucracies. Left and Right wings of the political spectrum can each find grounds to support their creation. Public enterprise has a place in views on development that vary from grudging support for state capitalism as a necessary evil to reliance on nationalisation and expropriation as the main building blocks in the creation of a socialist economy. With such wide ranging appeal it is hardly surprising that the growth in numbers of such enterprises, and in the volume of resources and activities that they control, has been nothing short of explosive in most countries since independence.

What is surprising and disturbing by contrast, is that published research into the institutional and behavioural characteristics of these enterprises has been so meagre. Professor A. H. Hanson's *Public Enterprise and Economic Development* was written in the late fifties but as yet has few competitors as the authorative work on the subject; a series of UN seminars has emphasised the need for increased efforts in research but has evoked little in depth response. In these circumstances, the publication of this major study of public enterprises as industrial development agencies (IDA's) by a team from the Leeds University Public Enterprise Research Project (set up by Professor Hanson and regrettably closed down since his death) is all the more welcome.

As the title indicates the authors have attempted both to examine developments in organisational forms and government-enterprise relationships and to look at the performance and place of IDA's in different development strategies. Such an ambitious range of issues divides the book into two major sections – on public enterprises generally and IDA's – but in fact continuity is maintained. It rapidly becomes apparent that what the authors have produced is a wide ranging survey of developments and problems in the general use of public enterprise in different patterns of development, of which IDA's and industrialisation strategies are one set of examples. As such,

this study is in direct line of succession to Hanson's original, deriving much of its value from looking at the core issues he defined some fifteen years on, but laying itself open to judgement against the very high standard set by the earlier work.

The general verdict on the Leeds team study is a favourable one. Apart from the utility that derives from a major new piece of research in a relatively neglected area, the results do aid significantly in evaluating the real as opposed to the theoretical capacities of public enterprise in developing countries. Recognition of the critical importance of non-economic factors in determining enterprise performance is the key feature. The implications of the political role of public enterprise, of the full range of patronage possibilities that they can and have been made to produce in most developing countries, are followed through instead of being treated as unfortunate temporary deviations. The results in terms of discussion of the 'classical' issues – enterprise-government relations, public accountability and objective advantages in utilising public enterprise organisational forms – are refreshingly realistic. One of the principal conclusions that emerges has needed to be spelt out for some time. If the political system in a country does not allow to public enterprise the autonomy and feasibility in goal setting and implementation that enterprises are designed to provide, then is there any real benefit in distinguishing them from conventional government departments?

Where there is a criticism to be made of this study is in the authors' own admission of asking more questions than they can answer in the relatively short space available. The result is a measure of fragmentation and an inability to develop the full implications of a number of the very interesting themes introduced. It might have been better to change the balance of contents, to have curtailed the extensive use of country case-studies, which are individually too short to be really informative but numerous enough to break-up the flow of discussion. More extended analysis of, for example, the reasons for creating public enterprise and the open system perspective on the growth and decline of individual enterprises would have been useful in itself and as part of the guidelines indirectly provided for separate extended research efforts on enterprise case-studies.

These comments do not, however, detract from the overall merits of the work. As an extended agenda and scene setting exercise for research on public enterprise in developing countries and as a survey of development and problems in the use of enterprises, this book will be invaluable both to researchers and practitioners in the field.

GARTH GLENTWORTH

Rural Organisation in Bukoba District, Tanzania, by JORGEN and KAREN RALD; *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, Sweden,* 1975; illustrated, maps, diagrams, tables, bibliography, appendices; pp. 122.

This admirably produced small volume results from research carried out during two-and-a-half years field work between 1968 and 1971, before the

policy of Ujamaa villages had made its full impact on the lively, volatile and traditionally litigous Bahaya people.

Bukoba lies in the North-West of Tanzania, bordering Ruanda, Uganda and Lake Victoria, a well watered, fertile and prosperous coffee growing area, where the Chiefs were alien conquerors who introduced a feudal system unique on the Tanganyika mainland and a controversial land tenure system (Nyarumbanja) which defied satisfactory reform until abolished by radical post-independence legislation, and which for years resulted in so many lawsuits that the local treasury waxed rich from court fees and which generated the excitment and often the bitterness and ill-feeling which football competitions can now evoke in Britain.

The authors concentrate on land usage and after describing the physical features and environment of Bukoba, they provide a picture of the farmer's small-holding – its acquisition, size, cultivation and production, farming practices followed, the input required and the income obtained. A more detailed study is provided of 31 farming households in Ihamgiro where the authors stayed. This includes a time study of how each day was spent over the year which discloses (as one might expect) how much of the burden of the day is carried by the womenfolk, 71 per cent of whose daylight hours is spent at work as against some 56 per cent by men. The amount of leisure time is not an indication of laziness in the authors' view, as they consider life is much too complicated to allow for such a generalisation. One does, however, wonder that they make no apparent mention of the social problem of heavy beer drinking by the men and the side effects it has had in the behavioural pattern of many Haya women.

The authors found that the abolition of Chiefs and their feudal system was replaced by a new élite of rich go-ahead farmers whom they see as the Kulaks in the new Tanzanian society. It will be interesting to learn how the concept of the Ujamaa village is affecting this development. Are the new élite being restricted in the scope of their farming entrepreneurship and, if so, has this had any adverse effect on agricultural productivity, with individualism and egalitariansism in confrontation?

The scope of this book is limited but it has the virtue of clearly defined focus on land use in an important agricultural area of Tanzania. It should prove of considerable interest to those responsible for rural development in North Western Tanzania, to historians and to students, both in Tanzania and without, whose interests lie in the social and agricultural facets of rural life in a developing country. Of particular value is a bibliography listing a variety of books, reports and papers relevant to the authors' theme, some of which would otherwise remain virtually unknown.

The authors are to be congratulated on an excellently presented piece of very useful research work.

P.H.J.

Book Notes

Electoral Politics in an Emergent State - the Ceylon General Election of May, 1970, by A. JEYACATNAM WILSON; *Cambridge University Press*, 1975, map, notes, index; pp. 240; £7.00 (ELBS Edition £2.75).

No newly independent Commonwealth country has had a livelier history of democratic government and volatile politics than Sri Lanka (Ceylon) over the past two decades – indeed the island almost uniquely, has been able to change its national government by way of free elections. In this work of scholarship, Professor Wilson analyses the important Sri Lanka general election of 1970 which he introduces with a lucid background picture of politics and society and of the pre-election setting, covering post-independence development and in particular the period of the immediately preceding National Government of 1965-70.

The election itself is covered in full detail and the well set out and informative tables make fascinating reading – eg Table 21 – sets out the results so that the reader can, at a glance, compare 1970 with the three preceding general elections. While the author refers to the United Party's rout – it lost 48 of the 66 seats it had held and was left with a rump of 17 members, it actually gained in votes, exceeding those of its main rival, albeit the successful United Front coalition parties gained almost 49 per cent of the total vote as against 41 per cent for UNP and its allies.

It seems clear that most of 800,000 new voters in 1970, largely from the newly enfranchised 18-year-old group, voted against the UNP, as, in all probability did a majority of women who were particularly attracted by Mrs. Bandaranaike's charisma. Professor Wilson quotes from the private diary of the *Ceylon Daily News*' correspondent: "There is a carnival atmosphere at her meetings. People come not to hear but to cheer her . . . they are a committed crowd. She communicated in an invisible way" – thus was an election won when no less than 85 per cent of the electorate turned out to vote.

Professor Wilson's book is a model of its kind. It should prove of great interest to all psephologists and to students and professors of political science alike, to the general reader interested in the functioning of the democratic process and to those with interest in current events in Sri Lanka.

Time for Transition - A mid-term review of the Second United Nations Decade; ILO GENEVA; pp. 84; Swiss Francs 15.00.

This small book has been produced as part of ILO's contribution to ehe review of the International Development Strategy for 2DD.

In his preface the Director-General M. Francis Blanchard takes the opportunity to emphasise the seriousness of the World Unemployment Problem which had caused the Governing Body to propose the first ever Tripartite World Employment Conference in 1976.

This review stresses "the poverty level of incomes obtained by many producers and their families as a return from their work" both on their own homestead plots, in the self-employment informal sector and in wage employment. Attention is drawn to the report of ILO's inter-Agency Mission to Kenya and the importance it laid on the informal sector.

Attention is also drawn to the suggestions of the Secretary-General of UNCTAD that 40 per cent of assistance should be in the form of non-project aid, to "untying" of aid, to the need to increase the amount of aid provided for the development of labour intensive technologies.

It was, of course, David Morse at the 1970 Cambridge Conference on Development who called for the dethronement of GNP as the criterion upon which to evaluate national development. Very rightly his successors at Geneva have pursued this theme and the extent to which poverty and unemployment can be relieved is now more generally accepted as the more socially and economically important criterion by which to judge progress.

Trade and Employment, by H. F. LYDALL; *ILO, Geneva;* tables and appendices; pp. 140; Swiss Francs 17.50.

No doubt Professor Lydall's research at the University of East Anglia and this study which has resulted, is something of a *tour de force.* No doubt, also, it will provide economists at the ILO's World Conference in 1976 with useful ammunition when adjustment assistance is discussed. It may be unfair for a non-economist to be critical of Professor Lydall's approach, but it does strike one that if the arguments put forward are intended to influence trade policies, then it would seem that all too often there are "assumptions" made which may or may not stand the scrutiny of future events.

Again there are some simple examples given, eg of shoes produced in a developing country contrasted with more costly models produced in a developed country. The inference is clear, but the frequent use of the word "value" is surely a misuse unless the quality and lasting value of the product is taken into account. Meat preparations are dealt with without any reference to the all-important facet of health. What is cheapness? A hand-knitted Highlands jersey so well made that it will last ten years or more, or an imported product costing a quarter of the price and lasting one tenth of the time? This reviewer can recall the women of Mikindani queuing for an immediate post-war allocation of UK Khangas which were expensive in relation to their earnings, while cheap Indian Khangas – cheap in price and quality, were readily available over the counter. Freedom means freedom of choice in the use of man's limited resources.

International Women's Year, 1975; *UNESCO,* Paris; illustrated; pp. 40.

The pages of this Unesco booklet are interlarded with graphic pictures, not only of human poverty, but also, of human endeavour. Anybody genuinely wishing to know what he can do to help educate Palestine refugees, for instance, or train nursing aids and midwives in Bangladesh, or increase literacy among women in Nepal – to name but a few projects – can find the answers here. The funds target for each project is indicated, and an idea is given of what even the smallest donation (through the purchase of Unesco gift coupons), will buy.

The Major Public Corporations: A Statutory Analysis, by DAVID PEIRSON; *Royal Institute of Public Administration;* pp. 40; £1.00.

In this small handbook, the author sets out clearly and concisely, the constitution of the major state corporations in Britain – how members are appointed, the numbers authorised, their terms and tenure, qualifications and disqualifications; the extent of Ministerial control, finance – nationalised industries are expected to 'break even' – reserves, borrowing power, grants; accounts and audit; there is reference to annual reports, labour relations, efficiency reviews. A final chapter sets out the role of Advisory and Consumer Councils.

The RIPA is to be congratulated on providing this citizen's guide to Public Corporations. It is brief and clear and uninvolved – and well worth one pound.

Committees of Inquiry, by GERALD RHODES; *George Allen & Unwin for the Royal Institute of Public Administration;* appendix and index; pp. 232; £6.65.

Since government has no machinery for examining the way in which it operates and does not directly sponsor research into its own administration it falls to academics or memorialists to enlighten the dark places of the central bureaucracy. The difficulties inherent in undertaking research into the rites and mysteries of Whitehall are amply demonstrated in this study on Committees of Inquiry. Its 200 pages do not attempt to offer more than the prolegomena to a subsequent series of studies of a comparative nature which may or may not mature in time. In clearing a way through the jungle the author identifies the real questions to which further research will have to provide answers. The fundamental difficulty about the further research to which the study points the way must nevertheless remain all but insuperable. The basic decision to set up an Inquiry is taken by Ministers or in Cabinet on the basis of arguments presented by civil servants which must remain confidential for 30 years. It is to be hoped that Mr. Rhodes' pioneering study will speed the plough as the records become available for the years of the first post-war Labour Government from 1945-1950.

The Statesman's Year Book, 1975/76; maps, tables, index, pp. 1556, £5.95.

The Statesman's World Gazetteer, pp. 733 + 24 pp. coloured maps, £6.95.

Both these reference books are published by *Macmillan* and edited by *John Paxton.*

The latest Year book includes an up-to-date map showing world population trends, a new map of the West Indies highlighting the Caribbean community, detailed particulars of all national flags and extended details of the World's broadcasting systems. As usual the Year Book is admirably and clearly printed. For the third year running the Justice section under Zanzibar urgently awaits revision.

1975/76 sees the welcome addition of a sister volume, the *World Gazetteer* which includes 24 pages of excellently produced maps in colour. The editor has exercised great skill in his selection of place names – from Aabenraa in Denmark to Xochimilco in Mexico, and added interest is provided by a list of geographical terms and a number of useful statistical tables.

Tourism in Developing Countries - Trick or Treat? A Report from the Gambia, by TINA ESH and ILLITH ROSENBLUM, *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies – Research Report No.* 31; with maps and appendices; pp. 76.

Nowadays it will generally be agreed that tourism can be a mixed blessing for a developing country. Where resources are limited it behoves the government of any poor nation to do what it can to generate employment, to increase its foreign currency so as to purchase needed imports, to diversify its industries, etc. and tourism offers one solution. On the other hand tourism is liable to create domestic servants rather than genuinely productive workers, special tax concessions and profits-exports for expatriate enterprises can mean very limited net benefit to the local government; over-concentrating on tourism as a major industry can create serious economic problems if tour patterns change or new aircraft types overfly a now obsolete airfield.

In this study of tourism in the Gambia where the industry is dominated by a one nationality-group charter-tourism, the authors reckon that the industry is overdone. In the context of the Gambia, they find tourism focuses funds and effort into urban areas when the real need is for rural/agricultural development. They are critical too of the attitudes of many of the tourists (mainly Scandinavian). They point out the undesirable social effects of tourist impact on the local cultural environment. They conclude that in the Gambia tourism should be maintained at a small level with the bulk of available local resources devoted to more important fields of developmental endeavour.

Rice Marketing in Ghana, by KWEKU OKOSO-AMAA; *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, Sweden;* tables, figures, map, appendices, bibliography and index; pp. 102.

The author has pursued an unusual and interesting theme in this study – an analysis of government intervention in Ghana's rice marketing industry. This is, however, a modest endeavour. He found scant information about rice marketing prior to government intervention in this area, so there is no ready yardstick with which to judge the results. He was able, however, to conclude that government intervention in rice marketing had encouraged farmers to grow paddy commercially, had introduced new hybrid varieties of rice, had tended to stabilize prices and had caused shortages of other foodstuffs to decrease. Nonetheless he found that the performance of the marketing firms had been unimpressive.

There are a lot of references to the "no market" problem – ie the production of paddy surplus to local needs either as paddy or as rice. Yet there is reference to coastal people preferring imported rice and no mention of the need to convert the latter to home produce – only the suggestion that this might be a useful field for further research.

It is to be hoped that the Ghanaian rice industry will find this study of some practical value.

The Nubian Exodus, by HASSAN DAFALLA; *C. Hurst & Co., London,* 1975; in association with the *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala;* maps, illustrated, tables and index; pp. 342; £6.95.

The building by the Egyptian Government of the Aswam High Dam in the late nineteen fifties, attracted more of the world's attention than did the anticipated effect of the project on the thousands of Sudanese Nubians, who, it was calculated, would be made homeless thereby.

This was understandable. The project was conceived in or possibly gave rise to a period of intense international tension, with the Soviet Government competing with the West for the prestige and political advantage to be gained by financing the work, and although the Suez crisis followed by the nationalisation of the Canal occupied the world's headlines for many months, the high drama – to the lovers of antiquities – of the threat of the rising Nile Waters to the temples at Abu Simbel, and their subsequent salvaging "in the nick of time" by an international operation mounted by Unesco, continued to divert attention from the tragedy occurring to a far-away people, of whom very little was known beyond their borders.

The reservoir which was created following the building of the dam, covered the whole of Egyptian Nubia and a large stretch of the Sudan, engulfing more than a score of villages, and the town of Wadi Halfa, so that the land, houses, and date trees of 50,000 Nubians were lost. Hassan Dafalla (who died a year before this account was published), was given the immense task of evacuating the homeless people, choosing sites for their new homes in and around the town of "New Halfa", arranging for suitable compensation to be paid, supervising the distribution of land, advising on suitable farming and irrigation methods and, perhaps the most difficult task of all, persuading the people to adopt those methods. Not everything went according to plan, of course, and as may be imagined, there is still an immense amount of work to do, but this reviewer has not read for a long time such an interesting and heartening account of devotion to duty, and the dividends that such devotion can pay.

Memoirs of William Hickey; Ed. PETER QUENNELL, *Routledge & Kegan Paul, London;* illustrated; index; pp. 447; £5.95.

Admirably edited with skill and scholarship by Peter Quennell and excellently produced by the publishers, here now is a delightful new volume of William Hickey's fascinating Eighteenth-Century memoirs. The material is unexpurgated but the editor has been sensibly selective in covering the period ending with Mrs. Hickey's death.

Born in an age when patronage and privilege were nearly everything, young Hickey was the lucky son of a long-suffering but prosperous parent whom he often deceived and let down, but who forgave him his debauchery and his malpractices, enabling him twice to take up a career in India (with a trip to China thrown in), to have an (unsuccessful) go in the West Indies, and to retire like any Nabob with funds enough to finish his days in reasonable comfort after his second period in the sub-continent.

Life in London for the well-to-do, life in India for merchants and servants of the Company, recorded in retirement thanks to an extraordinarily accurate memory, without inhibitions and with the most commendable frankness – thank goodness there was no Lady Burton to burn the precious manuscript!

While it would be churlish to view standards of a past century by those of to-day, it is salutary food for thought in considering the Imperial past, just how arrogant and aggressive and mercenary were the adventurers who went East – yet there was a strange chivalry, instanced in the Anglo-French wars, and too, in the way Hickey had an overseer flogged whom he chanced to come across maltreating a female slave in Jamaica.

Here is a volume which one can commend as sure to bring pleasurable, amused and interesting reading to generalist, sociologist, historian and student alike.

Aden under British Rule, by R. J. GAVIN; *C. Hurst & Co.;* maps, figures, plates, appendices, bibliography, index; pp. 471; £11.50.

This is an interesting and well written history of Aden from the arrival of the British in 1839 until the end of the Second World War. It is the story of how an arid and far from attractive little seaport became a key strategic centre on vital imperial lines

of communications, where ships to the East refuelled first with coal and then with oil, where the Suez canal brought great prosperity, where politics flourished and festered, whence lay the Hadramaut of Ingrams, Boscawen, Freya Stark and many an Arabian traveller.

The last troubled years of British rule are treated briefly and without great depth – there is no mention of Turnbull or Mitchell or Trevelyan. The book has been admirably produced, but it is costly and it is a pity that the author felt constrained to include as many as 90 pages of notes as a final chapter; nonetheless this will surely be the definitive history of Aden under Colonial rule and the whole focus of the book is directed very properly to the era of imperial greatness when Aden was a British possession of considerable importance.

The Administrative Reforms Commission, by SHRIRAM MAHESHWARI. *Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Agra* 1972; pp. 570; £5.00.

It is the author's claim that this book takes as its theme the single most comprehensive national effort, in India's history, at the reorganisation and reconstruction of public administration.

The book probably presents the most comprehensive account yet written of the need and philosophy for administrative reforms in India.

Printed in England for HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
by Adams & Sons (Printers) Ltd., East Street, Hereford.
Dd 289065 K15 2/76

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ADMINISTRATION

(*A Quarterly Review of the Institute of Administration, University of Ife, Nigeria*)

January 1976: VOLUME X-No. 2

Contents

Special Issue on

Federalism and State Administration

Federalism and State Administration: An Introduction
OLATUNDE J. B. OJO

Review of the Western State Civil Service, 1967-74
L. O. DARE AND A. OYEWOLE

Kwara State Administration Since 1969
LADIPO ADAMOLEKUN AND OYELEYE YEDIRAN

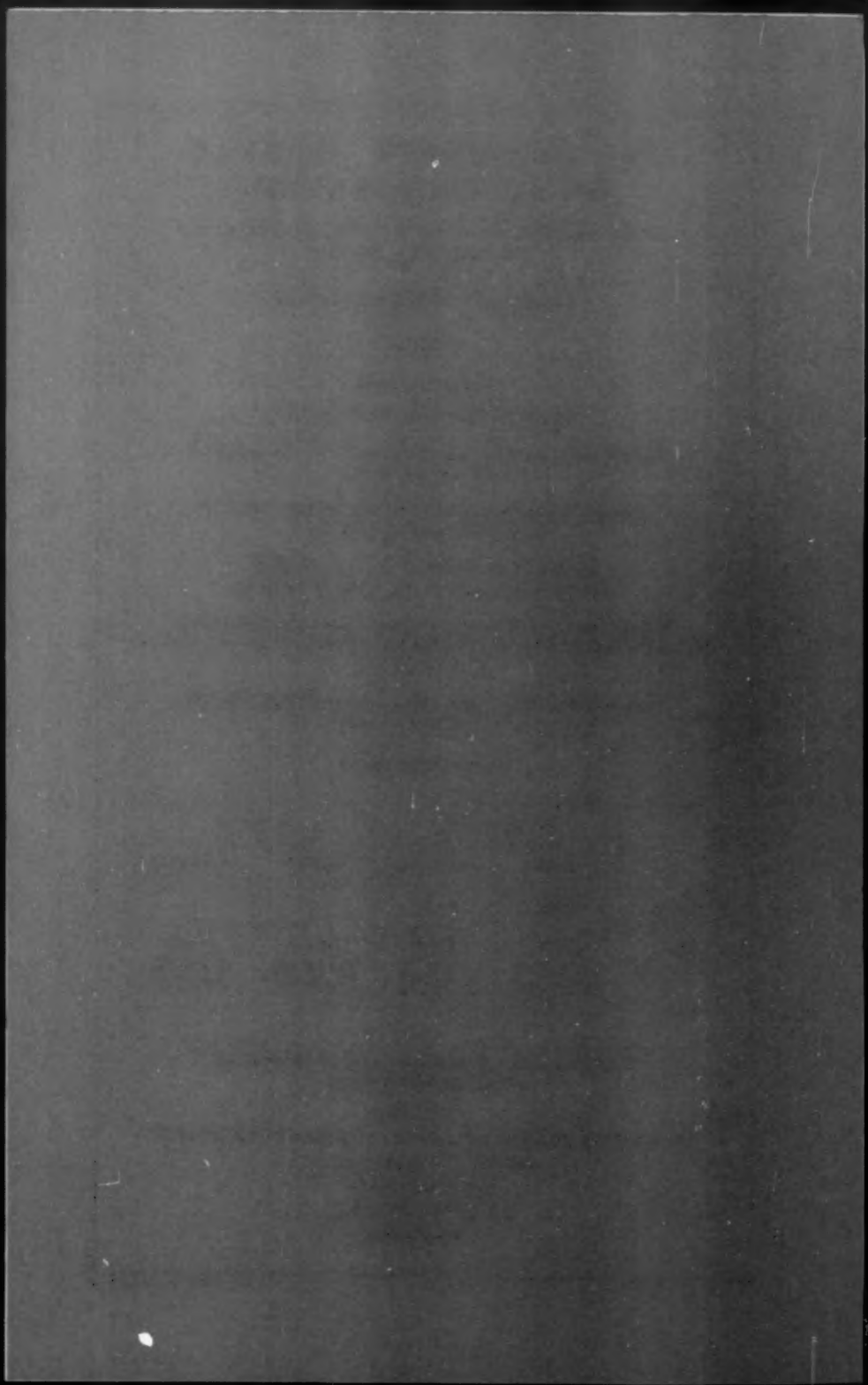
North-Central and North-Western State Administrations
North-Central and North-Western State Administrations, 1967-74
P. C. A. DAUDU

The Civil Services of the Three Eastern States, 1967-74
DR. GORDON J. IDANG

Annual Subscription

	By Surface Mail		*By Airmail*	
	Annual	*Single Issue*	*Annual*	*Single Issue*
Nigeria	N.400	N1.25	—	—
Other Countries	N7.00 (US $11.50) (UK £6.00)	N2.00 (US $3.25) (UK £1.75)	N11.00 (US $18.00) (UK £9.50)	N3.00 (US $5.00) (UK £2.65)

Contributions, subscriptions and advertisements should be addressed to:

The Editor
QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ADMINISTRATION
Faculty of Administration
University of Ife
ILE-IFE, NIGERIA,
West Africa

ISBN 0 11 724482 4